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WAJDA'S VERSION

Police Nafsu probe set, Shin Bet stunned

By MENACHEM SHALEV

The Shin Bet was in turmoil last night after Attorney-General Yosef Harish announced that he would order the police to investigate Izat Nafsu's Shin Bet interrogations.

Harish said he would meet today with Police Inspector-General David Kraus and hand over to him the material concerning Nafsu's investigation. Harish added that he would ask for an investigation of only six or seven of Nafsu's original 11 interrogations; junior agents would be excluded from the probe.

On Sunday, the Supreme Court freed Nafsu, a 32-year-old Circassian officer, after it found that Shin Bet agents had used mental and physical pressure, bordering on torture, to extract a false confession from him in 1980.

Nafsu, who had served more than seven years of an 18-year military court sentence, accused the Shin Bet of forging evidence to have him convicted.

Sources close to Prime Minister Shamir expressed shock and anger at Harish's decision,

which apparently took them completely by surprise.

A few hours before announcing his decision on Israel Radio, Harish had met with Shamir and Cabinet Secretary Eliahu Rubinstein and had assured them that he would make no decision before Sunday, when the cabinet was expected to approve the establishment of a judicial commission of inquiry, which could defer – and ultimately cancel – the need for a police probe.

The sources added that the matter would

probably be brought to the cabinet in any case. Harish is expected to come under heavy pressure to postpone the implementation of his decision or to stay the police investigation if the cabinet sets up a judicial probe.

The police investigation, if launched, will centre on the Supreme Court finding that Nafsu's investigators had employed illegal interrogation methods against him and had committed perjury. The maximum sentence for both offences is seven years' imprisonment.

(Continued on Page 19)

Schools: Today yes, Sunday maybe

Thousands of teachers get dismissal notices

By BERNARD JOSEPHS and LEA LEVAVI

Jerusalem Post Reporters

Schools will open normally today as thousands of teachers return to work following yesterday's protest strike. But teachers' leaders are unwilling to guarantee that there will be no more stoppages in the coming week.

Yitzhak Welber, secretary-general of the Histadrut Teachers' Union, said that the decision on whether to strike on Sunday would be taken only on Saturday night, when the outcome of the present negotiations becomes clear.

Yesterday, several thousand teachers received letters of dismissal from the Education Ministry. The ministry says it will have to sack 5,600 teachers if the proposed cut in the education budget goes through, and all of them will have received written notice by Sunday.

Education Ministry and Treasury officials meanwhile continue to battle over the government's decision to slash spending on education by NIS 44 million.

Last night Welber and the head of the Secondary School Teachers' Association, Shoshana Bayer, were at Hadassah Hospital in Ein Kerem

for bedside talks with Education Minister Yitzhak Navon, who is being treated there for a gall-stone condition.

The minister was attempting to persuade the two union leaders to abandon future strike action as he and his officials tried to persuade the Treasury to reduce the cut in the education budget.

But an official of the Secondary School Teachers' Association said: "Unless there is a major change in the amount to be cut, we will go on taking militant action. We are not fighting for ourselves but for the

(Continued on Back Page)



Witness Julien Favet arrives at the Lyons courthouse on Wednesday to testify in the trial of Nazi war criminal Klaus Barbie. Favet identified Barbie as one of the Gestapo men who directed the raid on the Izieu children's home from which 41 Jewish orphans and seven staffers were sent to Nazi death camps. Favet was a farm worker at the time of the raid. (See 'Up roar,' page 3.) (AFP)

Dancers change tune – they'll defy threats

Diplomatic pressure has persuaded South African dance troupes to keep its commitment to appear at the Israel Festival, festival organizers announced yesterday. At the beginning of the week the troupe cancelled its performance because of death threats from the African National Congress.

Following reports about the cancellation in *The Jerusalem Post*, the South African authorities began pressing the group to keep its commitment to perform.

The group resisted until yesterday, festival sources said, when it finally acceded to the urgings of the South African authorities and the Israeli Embassy. South African-based impresario Bill Jitzkowitz was also instrumental in persuading the group to come, sources said.

A festival spokesman said yesterday that the group teleaxed a message that it would arrive in Israel early Saturday and would keep its date to perform that same evening. Nevertheless, the festival organizers have cancelled that appearance so as to give the performers time to rest from their flight. Amampondo is now scheduled to appear at the Henry Crown theatre on Sunday, May 31, at 8:45 p.m., and on Monday, June 1, at 6:30 p.m. and 9:30 p.m. (Festival Diary, page 4)

Lebanese plane intercepted, freed

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT and DAVID RUDGE

Jerusalem Post Reporters

TEL AVIV. – Israel Air Force jets yesterday intercepted a Lebanese military aircraft over the Mediterranean, forced it to land in Israel, and allowed it to fly back to Lebanon after interrogating two air force officers on board.

The Fouga-Magister trainer was intercepted at 12:30 p.m. as it flew along the coast south of Tyre in response to distress signals sent by a boat. A Lebanese helicopter was also sent to the area.

An Israeli military source said the plane was intercepted because it came dangerously close to Israel. "From there [Tyre], it is a one-minute flight to Israel and it was not

clear what the pilots planned to do," the source said.

According to reports from Lebanon, two Israeli F-16s appeared and signalled the helicopter to land on the shore and forced the Fouga to fly to a base in northern Israel.

Lebanese Army headquarters notified UN offices in Beirut that the plane had been responding to a distress call received from a ship. It asked that the information be relayed to the Israelis, but there was apparently some delay in transmission.

Israeli technicians refuelled the aircraft, and it took off about 3 p.m. State-run Beirut radio said the plane landed at the Halat air base in North Beirut at 4:35 p.m. and the pilots were in "good shape."

Meanwhile, the Israeli Navy sent a ship to help the sinking boat. There were conflicting reports about the identity of the ship.

Military sources in Beirut said it was fishing boat with five men aboard, but other sources said it was a yacht carrying Christian militiamen from the security zone to Beirut's Christian sector.

The sources said all aboard the yacht were rescued by Israeli gunboats and taken to an undisclosed destination. There was no word of the fate of the boat.

It was the first time that Israeli jets forced down a Lebanese aircraft, although Israeli warships have forced Lebanese cargo ships to dock in Israel.

Pollard fallout

Labour flays Eban over 'treachery'

By MENACHEM SHALEV

Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. – Labour leaders Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin used a meeting of their party's central committee yesterday to settle accounts with Abba Eban for his subcommittee's report on the Pollard affair.

The two blamed Eban for providing the Likud with ammunition against them.

Labour Party secretary-general Uzi Baram, who had earlier defended Eban, opened the meeting by blasting the Likud's "system of lies and fabrications" and its "demagogic" presentation of the findings of the subcommittee.

But the next speaker, Rabin, attacked Eban without once mentioning his name. In a booming voice, Rabin repeatedly referred to the "4-2" vote in which Eban had supported the findings of the subcommittee's Likud members concerning himself and Peres.

He repeatedly praised the two other Labour subcommittee members, Micha Harish and Simha Dinitz, for dissenting from the findings.

Rabin attacked the leaks from the panel, saying: "To know what was going on in the subcommittee, one only had to listen to the radio, watch television, read the newspapers or talk to journalists."

He blasted the "political motives" of the subcommittee and accused it of trying to "put one over." The differences between the phrasing of Eban's findings and that of the Tsur-Rotenstreich report were "not coincidental," he said.

Rabin specifically pointed out that the Tsur-Rotenstreich panel had noted that Pollard had been "recruited and run" during the term of Rabin's predecessor as defence minister, Moshe Arens. The Eban report, he said, failed to mention that fact.



Abba Eban, holding a section of his Knesset panel's report on the Pollard affair, looks pained as he is attacked by Labour Party colleagues. See also page 2.

(N. Ben-Ami/Media)

Rabin mocked the Eban report for quoting Arens's claim that he had been "too preoccupied with Lebanon" to find out about Pollard.

Rabin said that he agreed to share the responsibility for Pollard with Arens. There was laughter when he added that "avoiding pregnancy cannot be done in the sixth month."

Eban, who before the meeting had said that he found it "peculiar" that the party was convening to give its backing to leaders criticized by the subcommittee, then asked Baram for permission to speak. He was greeted by boos from the crowd.

Eban said that "there was not a grain of precision" in Rabin's presentation of his committee's findings.

He said he would not "retreat" or

(Continued on Back Page)

Did Peres lie to the Knesset?

On November 28, 1985, a full week after the FBI had arrested Jonathan Pollard on suspicion of spying for Israel, prime minister Shimon Peres briefed the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee subcommittee on the intelligence services on the affair.

ANALYSIS

BENNY MORRIS

By then, Peres had held a series of consultations with senior ministers and officials about what had happened and about what needed to be done. He had met repeatedly, among others, with Rafi Eitan, the director of Lekem (the Science Liaison Bureau), the Defence Ministry intelligence unit which had recruited and run Pollard; with Defence Ministry director-general Menahem Meron; and with Foreign Ministry director-general, David Kimche.

Peres insisted that no verbatim minutes of the meeting with the Knesset subcommittee be taken, and none were – though his military aide-de-camp, Azriel Nevo, took notes. This is the only document extant which relates what Peres said at the meeting.

According to people who were at the meeting, Peres explained how Pollard had begun to work for Israel thusly: "The young Jewish U.S. naval intelligence analyst came to us in June 1984 and said that he had been sent by his superiors to establish a secret communications link with Israeli intelligence for a one-way transfer of information to Israel; information wasn't being transferred by the U.S. through normal channels."

Peres related that Pollard had also said that his superiors were interested in opening this line of communication because we, Israel, had a "security breach" and things were leaking out. Pollard, according to Peres, showed the Israelis some documents from naval intelligence to establish his credibility and access.

Already at that Knesset subcommittee

meeting, MK Eliahu Ben-Elissar had raised doubts about this story; Ben-Elissar, with a Mossad background, had smelled that something was wrong.

Ben-Elissar reacted to the story as Peres related it by saying: "This appears to me very strange." Later, during the same meeting of November 28, 1985, Ben-Elissar made other comments casting doubt on the veracity of the Peres version of Pollard's recruitment.

Two days ago, Ben-Elissar – driven by Peres's repeated dismissal of the Eban subcommittee, and by Eban's own definition of Ben-Elissar's assertion that Peres had "not spoken the truth" – held a press conference in which he announced that Peres had lied to the subcommittee on November 28, 1985. He challenged the foreign minister to sue him for libel. Ben-Elissar said he would be willing to voluntarily remove his parliamentary immunity if faced with such a suit.

While Israel has never officially explained the circumstances of Pollard's recruitment, it emerges, from foreign press reports, and other

sources, that an American Jew who knew Pollard advised him to meet Aviem Sella, then doing a Ph.D. in New York, or advised Sella to meet Pollard. During that original contact, Sella at first believed Pollard had been sent officially by a U.S. body rather than offering his services as a spy when he said he wished to pass on intelligence that was being withheld from Israel. Permission was then sought by Lekem. Rafi Eitan, asking Israel Air Force commander Aluf (Res.) Amos Lapidot to loan him Sella's services for further contact with Pollard.

Lapidot asked IDF chief of general staff Rav-Aluf (Res.) Moshe Levy for permission, and Levy had agreed. Sella then established ongoing contact with Pollard, in effect "recruiting" him. Pollard began handing over copies of U.S. intelligence documents to Lekem's representatives in Washington. Later, Eitan met Pollard to "consolidate" the recruitment.

(Continued on Back Page)

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THE JERUSALEM POST

Wage talks open

The first round of national public-sector wage negotiations started with both sides vowing to stick to opening positions.

Finance Minister Moshe Nissim declared that any salary rises would have to be accompanied by similar rises in productivity. A wage increase alone would ultimately lead to budget cuts and firings, he maintained.

Histadrut representatives, led by Trade Union Chief Haim Haberfeld, defended the call for higher wages.

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THE JERUSALEM POST

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Kiryat Wiznitz Bnei Brak

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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy to clear
Outlook for Shabbat: Somewhat warmer

City	Yesterday's	Today's	Max
Jerusalem	20	23-26	26
Golan	28	23-32	32
Nabariya	29	27-32	32
Safad	26	22-30	30
Hain Port	61	25-31	31
Tiberias	32	24-36	36
Nazareth	31	24-36	36
Afula	44	23-32	32
Shimon	33	24-32	32
Tel Aviv	28	23-26	26
B-G Airport	63	23-27	27
Jericho	28	24-39	39
Gaza	75	23-24	24
Beerseba	63	23-33	33
Eilat	14	25-37	36

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Prime Minister Shamir yesterday sent Id al-Fitr greetings to President Hosni Mubarak.

Birth

WEINTRAUB - Born, to Dov and Roni Weintraub, Kfar Meholah, a daughter, on Iyar 26, 5747 - May 25, 1987; sister to Uri and Herut, granddaughter to Moshe and Barbara Kohn, Jerusalem, and Aharon and Ester Weintraub-Terner, Petah Tikva, and great-granddaughter to Mary Shalowitz, Fond du Lac, Wisconsin.

BLOOM - To Barbara (Bella) and Raphael, a girl, on Tuesday, May 26, at Hadassah Hospital, Ein Kerem. Grandparents: Sheila and Bernard Berniker, Melvin Bloom and Zella Bloom. Great-grandparents: Rabbi Mayrym and Miriam Berniker, Elsie Rokeach.

ARRIVALS

Mr. Ernst Gerhard from Germany, Mrs. L. Chazal from France for the annual meeting of the board of governors of Tel Aviv University.

Actor Klatzkin to be buried today

TEL AVIV (Itim). - The funeral of actor Rafael Klatzkin is scheduled to leave from the Habimah Theatre at 11:30 this morning. The coffin will be placed on the theatre's stage at 9:30 a.m. to allow mourners to pay their last respects.
Burial will be at the Kiryat Shaul cemetery.
In a condolence message to Klatzkin's widow yesterday, Prime Minister Shamir said that the actor's death was a great loss for Israel's cultural life.

HOME NEWS

Peres praises Lavi, to seek more funds

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
TEL AVIV. - Vice Premier Peres said yesterday that the Lavi is an outstanding technological achievement and he will seek ways to provide the funds to carry it through.
Addressing reporters after a briefing at the Israel Aircraft Industries - the main contractor for the Lavi - Peres said anyone with even a slight understanding of technology, avionics and electronics "cannot but marvel at [Israel's] unusual achievements." These cannot be expressed in money or in figures, he added.
Peres said one way to get the project going would be to construct 75 aircraft in the first stage, instead of the 100 proposed to the cabinet. He said he was waiting to hear how much the planes would cost.
But military sources who oppose the Lavi told *The Jerusalem Post* that the cost of producing only 75 planes would be so high that no one would consider it.
According to Mordechai Hod, chairman of the IAI's board of directors, the entire \$550 million given by the U.S. for the Lavi project would be required to complete development, with an additional government allocation of \$212m. per year for four years. Some of the industries

involved in the project have meanwhile agreed to invest \$42.5m. a year during that period, Hod told *The Post*.
After the first batch of Lavis is delivered, IAI will sell the aircraft competitively - "at one dollar less than the price of an F-16," he said.
IAI believes that the Air Force will eventually buy more than 100 planes, if only to compensate for aircraft lost in battle or in accidents, Hod added.
The head of the IAI workers' committee yesterday threatened action unless the government approves the Lavi. "If they harm our livelihood - everything is open," Ya'acov Shefi said at a press conference. The company employs 20,000 people.
Heads of leading defence-related industries are divided over the Lavi issue. At a closed meeting of the Manufacturers' Association earlier this week, certain industrialists criticized IAI for using its size and position in the defence establishment to pressure politicians into approving the Lavi. But heads of other industries insisted that IAI has been subcontracting work to more than 300 plants all over the country - making it imperative for the project to be continued.



Shimon Peres in the cockpit of a Lavi yesterday, receiving an explanation from IAI's Mordechai Hod. (Hananya Horman)

Eban faces his party's wrath

For a few moments, the Labour Party Central Committee meeting last night seemed about to repeat a dramatic scene in Herut history.
Abba Eban was on the podium, striking a Cambridge debating society pose - elbow on lectern, finger in the air, speaking to the side of the microphone rather than into it. Uzi Baran grasped the podium microphone and called for order.
Eban was defending his subcommittee's report on the Pollard affair, and the heckling was drowning out his words. A white-haired man kept leaving to his feet to challenge Eban, who in the glare of the TV lights was unable to see much beyond the first few rows at the run-down Ohel Shem Theatre.

On one side of the auditorium, a group of younger members were shouting, "How did you dare?" In the front row, Vice Premier Peres and Defence Minister Rabin sat stony faced.
Usually, Ohel Shem is the venue for Yiddish theatre or high-school plays, or chamber music, concerts that barely attract an audience. But it's best known for central committee meetings of both Labour and Likud.
It was at Ohel Shem that David Levy first challenged Yitzhak Shamir for the Herut leadership, which in those days was officially called "Acting No. 1," because Herut still believed that one day Menachem Begin would come back. There was almost as much tension yesterday

as when Eban rose to speak as there was that other hot summer day when Levy marched down the aisle to put up his name as a challenger to Shamir.
Eban is not the kind of speaker who is used to heckling. But Eban was a statesman at 29, and he's always been a manipulator of ideas, not a politician who knows how to manipulate people.
He didn't pause, or peer into the darkness to see who was shouting. But he didn't have to do that to know that he was being challenged because he had put his signature alongside those of three Likud men

Shamir honoured by HU

By Jerusalem Post Staff
"There is no more sublime goal than that of peace," Prime Minister Shamir declared yesterday while receiving an honorary doctorate at the Hebrew University at Mt. Scopus. But the premier continued: "Peace can never be built on dissensions within. Only internal unity can lead to peace with external rivals. Only we shall determine whether we have learned to conduct ourselves in accordance with the lessons of the recent and distant past, whether we shall continuously strive to remove the barriers and reduce factionalism."
The prime minister was forced to interrupt his speech several times as a group of students, demonstrating against the cabinet's decision on tuition fees, jeered and called on him to resign.
"Other recipients of honorary doctorates at yesterday's ceremony were: Arye Lova Elav, a veteran figure in Israel's agricultural settlement and military history; Moshe Shalev, head of the Lohi Lohi Mitzra, leaders of the British Jewish community; Prof. Jacques Le Goff, French historian known for his scholarship on the Middle Ages; Prof. Paula A. Marks of the U.S. president of Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Centre; Dr. Sidney M. Edelstein, American industrialist and Jewish community leader; Prof. Franz Rosenzweig, professor emeritus of Yale University and scholar of Islamic civilization as well as Hebrew and Aramaic; and Dr. Martin Perle of the U.S., editor of *The New Republic*.

Lahad: 'Unifil abducted SLA man'

By DAVID RUDGE
Jerusalem Post Reporter
METULLA. - South Lebanese Army commander Gen. Antoine Lahad yesterday accused Unifil of abducting one of his soldiers and handing the man over to the Amal Shi'ite organization.
The allegations were categorically denied by Unifil, which said it had flown the wounded soldier to a hospital in Tyre after local residents had appealed to them for help.
Lahad, interviewed by reporters here, said the SLA soldier was attacked by a gunman at his home in Dir Firian, near Tibe, on Tuesday night. The soldier's wife ran to a nearby Unifil outpost manned by Finnish troops, and asked them for help.
Lahad said the wounded soldier

was taken by Unifil helicopter to Tyre, handed over to Amal there, and later transferred to Beirut. "This was done even though Unifil knows that Amal is the SLA's enemy," Lahad said.
He recalled an incident over a year ago when 11 SLA soldiers were allegedly handed over to Amal by Unifil troops. In retaliation SLA forces took 21 Finnish Unifil soldiers hostage until an exchange agreement was worked out.
Lahad said the SLA respected Unifil and did not want to take action against the international force. But if Unifil "continues harassing us we may be compelled to reciprocate," Lahad said.
He added that he held Unifil responsible for the safety of the SLA soldier. "If the man is not returned

safely, this will create a new situation and we will have to consider what to do."
But Unifil spokesman Timor Goksel said Unifil had no idea that the man was a member of the SLA - the Finnish troops had responded to a request by local residents to help someone the troops believed to be a wounded civilian.
"The man was badly wounded, with three bullets in his head. He was given medical care at the Tyre hospital and as far as Unifil was concerned, the troops had fulfilled their obligation on humanitarian grounds," he said.
Unifil later learned that because of the seriousness of the man's injuries he had been transferred to a hospital in Beirut for further treatment.

Peres, Shamir fail to okay U.S. envoy

Post Diplomatic Correspondent
Prime Minister Shamir and Foreign Minister Peres yesterday failed to agree on a candidate for the ambassadorship to Washington and it appears likely that the incumbent, Meir Rosenne, will wind up his tour of duty before his replacement arrives.
Shamir indicated that Peres's most recent proposal - Prof. Hamar Rabinovitch, the director of Tel Aviv University's Dayan Centre, was not to his liking. But Shamir refrained from rejecting the proposal outright.
It is understood that Shamir continues to prefer the appointment of Haim Bar-On, a former deputy director-general of the Foreign Ministry.

'This is a zoo, not a finance committee!'

Moshav debate founders on Labour-Likud rivalry

By ASHER WALLFISH
Post Knesset Correspondent
The Knesset Finance Committee meeting called yesterday to discuss NIS 1.25 billion in aid for the moshav movement almost broke up in pandemonium because of pent-up bitterness between the Likud and the Alignment members over unrelated issues.
The Pollard affair, the dispute over proposals for an international peace conference, and other issues splitting the two blocs were never far from the surface.
At one point, Chairman Avraham Shapira of Agudat Yisrael got up waving his arms and made for the door shouting: "This is a zoo. It is not the Finance Committee."
The Likud members were exasperated at Agriculture Minister Arye Nehamkin for having refused to give the committee the Ravid Report on the aid proposals. The committee staff has repeatedly requested the material over the past fortnight.
The author of the report, econom-

ist Shimon Ravid, did come to lecture on the report. But the Likud committee members managed to shout him down for more than a quarter of an hour, bellowing that they wanted to see the document before he spoke or at least while he was speaking. The Alignment members redoubled the din by bellowing at the Likud members to shut up.
Nehamkin, who also attended, finally told his aides to drive over to his office and bring back copies of the Ravid Report and distribute them on the spot. After they did this, relative calm prevailed.
Part of the NIS 1.25b. which the Treasury is asking the Finance Committee to approve will be used for rescheduling debts and part will be used to reduce the rates of interest.
Despite the fuss over the Ravid Report and the aid to moshavim, the Finance Committee voted at the start of the meeting in total tranquility to authorize transfer of the second allotment of NIS 69 million in the aid package to the kibbutz movements.

Transcends Bus 300 frame-up

Mordechai lauds work of Shin Bet in Gaza

By BRADLEY BURSTON
BEERSHEBA. - OC Southern Command Aluf Yitzhak Mordechai yesterday praised the work of the General Security Service (Shin Bet) in fighting terrorism.
"The General Security Service has done, and continues to do, excellent work," declared Mordechai, who is overall commander of security forces in Gaza. "The Shin Bet is one of the central pillars of our activity in the area. From personal acquaintance with those who do the work, I can bear witness that they do their job diligently and are worthy of the highest commendation," he said.
Mordechai called the relationship

between the IDF and the Shin Bet "personal, substantive, and close." In the field, in action, there is absolutely no feeling that outside elements are having an influence on the sacred work that the security forces are doing.
Mordechai said that the current wave of terrorist activity in the Gaza Strip is a matter of grave concern. Everything will be done to ensure quiet in the area and to bring the terrorists responsible to justice.
Mordechai was accused of complicity in the murder of two Arab terrorists in the Bus No. 300 hijacking affair, but it was later discovered that he had been framed by the Shin Bet.

Bomb defused in T.A.

TEL AVIV. - Police yesterday afternoon exploded a bomb that was discovered at a bus stop in the northeastern part of the city. No one was injured, but the blast damaged the shelter, police spokeswoman Ze'eva Aharoni reported.
Passersby who spotted a suspicious plastic bag at a bus stop on Herzliya Road, near the Dan bus cooperative's parking lot, alerted the police at around 3 p.m.

Murderer Zvi Gur on trial for escape

TEL AVIV (Itim). - Convicted child murderer Zvi Gur, already serving a life sentence, went on trial in the district court here yesterday on charges of escaping from Ayalon Prison in Ramle in December 1985.
Gur appeared without a defense attorney. He asked the court to submit witnesses who, he said, would testify that he had been drugged at the time of the escape.

To the Rejwan Family
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Stunned and pained by the untimely death of our colleague

GOGA REJWAN

Members of the Skai Club

T.W.A., Israel,
mourns the untimely death of

GEORA (Goga) REJWAN

and shares the grief of the bereaved family

The death of

RAFAEL KLATZKIN

worthy of Tel Aviv - Jaffa
recipient of the Israel Prize
and above all - outstanding actor and person
is mourned by
Tel Aviv - Jaffa Municipality

Shlomo Lahat, Mayor
Tel Aviv - Jaffa

GEORA (Goga) REJWAN
(nee Minsky)
has passed away

The funeral will take place today, Friday, May 29, 1987, Sivan 1, 5747, leaving at 12:00 noon for the Municipal Funeral Parlour on Shamgar St. for Har Hamenuhot, Givat Shaul, Jerusalem.

The bereaved:
Her husband: Maurice
Her son: Dany and Family
Her daughter: Orli and Family
Her brother: Shai and Family
Her sister: Talma and Family

Hechal Shlomo Jerusalem
Jerusalem Great Synagogue

On the first anniversary of the death of the late beloved

Dr. MAURICE A. JAFFE

there will be a graveside memorial service at the Sanhedria Cemetery, Jerusalem on Sunday, 3 Sivan 5747 (31.5.87) at 9:15 a.m.

We deeply mourn the sudden death of our dear friend

GOGA REJWAN

and extend our heartfelt condolences to Mr. Maurice Rejwan and the family.

Staff of the International Christian Embassy, Jerusalem

Soviets: West must make concessions

Warsaw Pact talks centre on nuclear disarmament

EAST BERLIN. — Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and East German chief Erich Honecker met for talks yesterday after the first round of a Warsaw Pact summit, East European sources said.

No details were available of the meeting, which followed a full day of pact talks believed to have centred on East-West efforts to limit conventional and nuclear weapons.

Gorbachev was greeted warmly by Honecker, whose economic achievements have drawn Soviet interest. But the 74-year-old leader of Moscow's ideologically rigid front line ally has shown no interest in following the Kremlin's declared open information policy.

The official news agency ADN said Gorbachev, who arrived with the leaders of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania, gave an address at the start of the session yesterday. Speeches by other leaders followed.

Communist authorities have given no details of the talks, attended also

by defence and foreign ministers. A news conference has been scheduled for today, before a communiqué is issued.

Soviet officials have hinted that no important proposals were likely to emerge, saying it was time for the West to make concessions.

Gorbachev and the other leaders arrived in East Berlin on Wednesday as a Nato defence ministers' meeting in Brussels ended with calls for increased spending on conventional arms.

The Soviet news agency Tass said the first day of the two-day summit focused on nuclear disarmament and defusing tensions in Europe.

The pact leaders examined "the situation in Europe and the world at large," including questions of preventing nuclear war. They focused on "specific measures of nuclear disarmament, defusing tension in Europe and promoting the all-European process," Tass said.

The agency added that ways of restructuring international relations

on the basis of a "new way of political thinking rejecting militarism and the cult of force" which has become part of Soviet official language, were also discussed.

Moscow says there is a broad parity in conventional forces between the Atlantic Alliance and the Warsaw Pact which would maintain the military balance in Europe in the event of a deal eliminating U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons from the continent.

Some Western governments and military experts say a deal removing U.S. nuclear weapons from Europe would expose Western European countries to Soviet conventional strengths and could lead to the "decoupling" of the U.S. from Europe.

The Kremlin has proposed removing all U.S. and Soviet medium-range missiles from Europe, leaving each superpower with 100 warheads each in the U.S. and Asian areas of the Soviet Union. Moscow has also proposed eliminating shorter-range nuclear missiles with a range of 500 to 1,000 km. (Reuters, AFP)

French editor quits

Uproar over denial of death camp statistics

By MICHEL ZLOTOWSKI
PARIS. — The leftist French daily *Liberation* published "revisionist" letters yesterday from readers denying the admitted figures of gassed people in the Nazi extermination camps.

Another reader sent a drawing, showing a concentration camp inmate wearing striped pajamas, standing near a guillotine and saying: "Thanks to *Liberation* you too can execute Barbie."

The publication of the letters provoked an uproar from all the daily's desks. The editor in chief of *Liberation*, Dominique Pouchin, immediately handed in his resignation, saying that he was responsible for all the pages of the daily, including the one with the readers' letters. "The fact that my vigilance has been deficient because of technicalities doesn't lessen my responsibility. I resign," wrote Pouchin to the paper's director, Serge July.

July asked Pouchin to remain in his post and recalled yesterday noon all the unsold copies from the news stands and fired the journalist in charge of the readers' page.

The page's freedom of style and its often provocative subjects have made a highlight of *Liberation*. And the daily has already been in trouble because of that page.

In 1982, during the Peace for Galilee operation, an alleged Moslem reader's letter was printed, calling for "Jewish blood to flow in the streets" of Paris, in "retaliation" for what was happening in Lebanon. July had then been condemned for "incitement to racial hatred."



Ilona Staller, the Hungarian-born Italian porn actress running in the June 14-15 parliamentary election, makes a topless campaign appearance in front of the Rome parliament yesterday. The small, maverick Radical Party has put her up as a candidate to dramatize its campaign against film censorship. (Reuters)

Aid to Fiji halted

SUVA, Fiji. — The U.S. and New Zealand have suspended aid to Fiji to protest the military overthrow of the elected government, officials announced yesterday.

"United States law prohibits use of foreign aid funds to provide direct assistance to any country whose duly elected head of government is deposed by military coup or decree," the U.S. embassy said in a statement.

"As a result, U.S. assistance programmes for Fiji are in suspension." Soldiers led by Lt. Col. Sitiveni Rabuka overthrew the Indian-dominated government of Prime Minister Timoci Bavadra on May 14. Rabuka said he wanted to preserve the political power of ethnic Fijians, who are slightly outnumbered by ethnic Indians.

In New Zealand, Prime Minister David Lange also announced he was cutting off aid to the South Pacific nation. He also ordered 47 Fijian soldiers training in New Zealand to go home.

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FOREIGN BRIEFS

Soviet blaze said nearing China

PEKING (Reuters). — A forest fire in the Soviet Far East has crept closer to China and new blazes have flared up in parts of the northeast devastated by China's worst fire in recent history.

The New China News Agency said winds on Wednesday night pushed a fire in the Soviet Baikal region closer to the bank of the Ergun River, which marks the border with the Chinese region of Inner Mongolia. Vast forests cover the Chinese side.

Turkey denies returning Iranian refugees

ANKARA (AFP). — Turkey denied Wednesday a report by the London-based Amnesty International human rights group that it had turned back hundreds of Iranian refugees seeking political asylum. Foreign Ministry spokesman Inal Batu told a news conference that the statements were "lies." He said Turkey was collaborating with the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to solve the problem.

Saudis for peace among Moslems

RIYADH (AP). — King Fahd yesterday lamented conditions of Arab disunity, and Crown Prince Abdullah warned against broadening the scope of the Iran-Iraq war.

In a statement marking the three-day Moslem feast of Bairam, the king also urged Arab powers to "quit auctioneering and thrusting the (Palestinian) cause into Arab and international political haggles."

Publishers oppose licensing of journalists

HELSINKI (AFP). — The International Federation of Newspaper Publishers has ended a three-day congress here reaffirming their opposition to any licensing of journalists.

Some 450 members of 29 national associations took part in the congress of Western press publishers to discuss the development of the free press and press credibility.

Woman arrested in bid to smuggle 5,000 diamonds

AMSTERDAM (AFP). — A Belgian woman was arrested at Schiphol airport after being caught trying to smuggle 5,000 small diamonds in her vagina and her rectum, customs officials said yesterday.

The 29-year-old woman from Antwerp was caught on May 20, but freed on Tuesday after a fine of 100,000 guilders (\$50,000) was paid. The woman arrived from Bombay and the diamonds, worth about 500,000 guilders, originated in Hongkong. The diamonds were returned to Hongkong.

7,000 to guard world leaders in Venice

ROME (Reuters). — Seven thousand men, including bomb disposal experts, marksmen and cameramen, will guard the seven national leaders and their delegations attending the Venice Summit next month, the Italian Interior Ministry said yesterday.

The summit, from June 8-10, will bring together U.S. President Reagan, French President Mitterrand and West German Chancellor Kohl, as well as the prime ministers of Italy, Britain, Japan and Canada.

Three killed in rush for free gifts

DHAKA (Reuters). — Three people died of suffocation when thousands of beggars and destitutes stampeded for free gifts distributed to mark the Moslem festival of Id al-Fitr in southern Bangladesh, officials said yesterday.

Several others were injured in the crowd which flocked to Kadalpar village for the goods ritually given away by a wealthy man. Four people were killed in Dhaka last Saturday in a similar stampede for free clothing.

British queen sued for not paying rent

RIO DE JANEIRO (AP). — A Brazilian landlord is suing Queen Elizabeth II for not paying the rent on a lakeside Brasilia house she has never even seen. When the Canadian Embassy rented the house in the capital's posh Lago Sul area in 1983, it put the queen's name on the rental contract as a matter of routine.

Embassy spokeswoman Silvia Reis said the embassy quit paying rent when the tenant, a Canadian diplomat, moved out in 1984.

U.S. raps Syrian account of Cairo incident

WASHINGTON (AP). — The State Department reacted sharply yesterday to a commentary in a Syrian government newspaper that praised as heroes the assailants of two U.S. Embassy security officers in Egypt. State Department Deputy Spokeswoman Phyllis Oakley said, "We find it extremely odious that official Damascus media should portray people who attack diplomats as heroes."

ELECTION '87: The Middle East

Britain has marginal role in M-E politics

By DAVID HOROVITZ
Jerusalem Post Correspondent
LONDON. — Britain's increasingly marginal role in Middle East politics is amply evidenced by the negligible attention devoted to the region in the various party election manifestos.

The ruling Conservatives, in fact, devote just one sentence of their 77-page campaign pamphlet to the Middle East, in which they claim to have "played a prominent part in bringing Israel and the moderate Arab states closer to peace negotiations in the framework of an international conference."

Israel, in fact, can have few complaints about the Thatcher administration. The prime minister visited Israel, received its leaders most gra-

ciously here, and acted as a channel of communications between Foreign Minister Peres and various Arab leaders, most notably King Hussein. Thatcher also put Britain "at the forefront in the fight against international terrorism," as the manifesto phrases it, breaking off relations with Syria and cajoling the rest of the EEC into lower-level ties with Damascus in the wake of the Hindawi affair.

While certainly not unaware of the importance of the Jewish vote in her own Middle East constituency, Thatcher seems to have conceived a genuine admiration for Israel, and a desire to help where she can in the peace process.

Labour's manifesto pledges that the party "will actively seek a stable

peace in the Middle East which protects the security of Israel and recognizes the right of Palestinians to self-determination."

The manifesto does not mention the PLO, and Labour appears anxious not to play up divisions within the party over whether to recognize the PLO and call publicly for the establishment of a Palestinian state.

Israel fails to get a mention at all in the Alliance manifesto, with the closest reference to the Middle East being a call on the prime minister to make clear where British policy differs from that of the U.S. and to "disavow such ventures as the bombing of Libya."

In a recent speech, Liberal leader David Steel described American



Middle East policy in general, and on the Arab-Israeli conflict in particular, as being "as mistaken today as British policy was at the time of Spex."

Like the Conservatives, both Labour and the Alliance lament the growing menace of international terrorism, and pledge to strengthen international cooperation in combatting and defeating it.

Jews, Moslems clash at SA universities

By a Special Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Jewish and Moslem students clashed last week at South Africa's largest English-speaking universities over the controversial commemoration by Moslem students of "Al-Quds Day."

Angry scenes erupted on the cam-

puses of both the University of Cape Town (UCT) and Witwatersrand (Wits) following the display of anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic placards and the distribution of pamphlets equating support of Israel with support of apartheid.

At UCT, posters advertising a

Moslem students' meeting showed a red, barbed-wire Magen David superimposed on a mosque.

A pamphlet issued by the Moslem Students Association (MSA) at Wits expressed solidarity with "the Palestinians under continued Zionist colonization."

Referring to Israel and South Africa as "racist states," the pamphlet stated that "humanity is again being tortured by the lies of Zionism and apartheid. Let those victims of Auschwitz who find this analogy irrelevant of their suffering look into the hapless misery of those at Sabra and Sharpeville, whose sole crime too has been the verity of their faith or colour of their skins."

The Wits branch of the South African Union of Jewish Students (which opposes apartheid and is currently running an anti-racism campaign on all campuses), produced a pamphlet to counter the propaganda.

Angry arguments followed by fist-fights erupted at UCT as the Jewish students attempted to halt the Moslem students' meeting and demanded the removal of a placard saying "Death to Zionist imperialists."

At Wits, a debate between Moslem and Jewish students turned into a free-for-all fist-fight when the singing of *Hatikva* was answered by a mass show of black power signs and South African freedom chants by the Moslem students.

Jewish student leaders at both Wits and UCT appealed to Jewish students to act responsibly and "use their heads rather than their fists." UCT Jewish Studies lecturer Sally Frankenthal maintained that violence was totally unnecessary as it drew attention away from the major issues facing students in South Africa.

A representative of the Moslem students at Wits said: "We are not anti-Semitic, merely anti-Zionist, as

Our dear
SARAH BLOCH
(nee Schach)
passed away peacefully in Sea Point, South Africa
on Tuesday, May 26, 1987, aged 97

Sadly mourned by her children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren in South Africa and Israel:
Charles, Vivienne Abelsohn and great-grandchildren
Gordon, Melanie Bloch and great-grandchildren
Joyton Bloch and great-grandchildren

With deep sorrow we announce the passing of
HARVEY (ZVI) ABRAMSON
of New York and Tel Aviv

His wife — **Suzzy**
Daughter — **Rana**
Son — **Harry**
Friend — **Lior Rosenberg**

The reinterment of the late
MICHAEL SIMON CHAZAN
will take place at the Gush Etzion
cemetery on Sunday, May 31, 1987, at 3:00 p.m.

For further details, please contact
Raymond, Ivor, Julian Chazan
Tel. 02-537360, 537157, daytime
Tel. 02-931165, 863949, evenings

Our deeply beloved
ABRAHAM (Bandi) HOFFMANN
has left us forever.

Bereaved family and friends
The funeral took place in Safed.
Please refrain from condolence visits.

Jack (Yasov) Landau
New Bedford, Mass. Call home.

Mother not well; anyone
knowing his whereabouts,
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or 02-636318.

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By HAIM SHAPIRO

Jerusalem Post Reporter

While Israel's courts and politicians continue to ponder the problem of non-Orthodox converts to Judaism, another no less complex problem confronts the state and its institutions. It is that of "messianic" Jews, who believe in Jesus but insist that they are still Jews.

In two cases now before the High Court of Justice, a couple from Zimbabwe, the Beresfords, claim that, despite their belief in Jesus, they should have all the rights provided by the Law of Return, and an Israeli citizen, Arye Sarko-Ram, also a "messianic" Jew, is demanding to be returned to his army reserves unit.

Attorney Yosef Ben-Menashe, who is representing both appellants, said in an interview with *The Jerusalem Post* that he is not motivated

by any particular sympathy with his clients' faith.

"For me it is a question of whether we are to have a closed society or an open society. Presently, our institutions function as if we are a closed society," he added. "On the one hand, they try to exclude Reform converts because they are not halachically Jewish, and on the other, they try to throw out the messianic Jews although they are halachically Jewish."

Both the Beresfords and Sarko-Ram say that they have not been

Two appeals before High Court

Jews for Jesus fight for rights

baptised, or otherwise become Christians. They maintain that they are Jews, and observant Jews at that.

In the Beresford case, which the High Court of Justice is to hear on Sunday, Ben-Menashe says that Jewish Agency emissaries conducted what he describes as an "inquisition," sending an investigator from South Africa to the non-denominational congregation which the Beresfords attended, but which they did not join.

Sarko-Ram, who had been coordinator for volunteers from abroad in

an IDF unit, said he was told that he was being transferred because his unit was overstaffed. It was only later, when Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin answered a question in the Knesset, that he learned he had been removed for allegedly disseminating "messianic" doctrine.

Ben-Menashe admitted that a few years earlier, Sarko-Ram had spoken of his beliefs while serving in Lebanon, but claimed that he had never done so in the later past.

He added that the law being applied to them was clearly not Jewish

religious law, which recognizes them as Jews, but the law of the Knesset.

Former Ashkenazi chief rabbi Shlomo Goren takes a very different stand. "They are Christians in every way the minute they believe in Jesus - even if they don't officially join another faith."

Another Orthodox rabbi, David Rosen, who was chief rabbi of Israel and is now director of inter-religious affairs for the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, represents the opposite point of view.

"I think that in a democratic Jew-

ish state people should be free to maintain their own religious beliefs," Rosen argued. "A person who was born Jewish and who considers himself a Jew must be accepted as a Jew."

Rabbi Uri Regev, a spokesman for the Israel Union for Progressive Judaism, said the dilemma is clear. "On the one hand, you have theological confrontation, on the other, freedom of religion."

But for Israel's rabbis, scholars and legal experts, it appears that this is now a dilemma which will have to be faced.

Tahan gets death threats

By BRADLEY BURSTON

For The Jerusalem Post

ASHKELON. - Yosef Tahan, the Israeli sentenced to death by an Egyptian court for attempting to smuggle 1.25 kg. of heroin into Egypt, may have more to fear from fellow prisoners than from the hangman, his wife Violet said here yesterday.

In a letter received here this week, Tahan wrote that prison officials share his concern that inmates will try to murder him, and have tightened security in an effort to foil an attempt. Recently, during Tahan's daily walk in the prison yard, a convict reportedly whispered, "We will kill you. We have nothing to lose." Though armed guards accompanied Tahan on the walks, the exercise period has now been cancelled and he has been placed in solitary confinement.

Among other measures taken in the wake of continuing death threats are the sealing of the only window in Tahan's cell, and intensive supervision of the preparation and serving of his meals. Poisoning is said to be the preferred murder method in Egyptian prisons.

Aware of the strong pressure on President Mubarak to carry out the sentence, Tahan said he had little hope that he would escape either the gallows or murder at the hands of fellow inmates.

Socialite Goga Rejwan dies at 58

By GREER FAY CASHMAN

For The Jerusalem Post

Goga Rejwan, one of Jerusalem's leading socialites, died early yesterday morning in her sleep. She was 58.

Besides running her own successful travel agency, she was involved in a large number of causes, which she supported both actively and financially.

It was not unusual for her to sweep into a room in her high-fashion finery and start wrapping parcels, stuffing envelopes or doing other routine tasks as if it were the most natural thing to do.

Rejwan used her family connections to wheedle contributions for all her pet charities. If someone pre-empted her to understand her when she asked for what she wanted in Hebrew, she switched effortlessly to English, Arabic or one of several other languages.

She is survived by her husband Maurice, a Jerusalem city councillor, land developer and building contractor and by a son and daughter.

The cortege will leave at noon today from the funeral parlour on Shagar street and proceed to Har Hamenuhot.



The scorched trunks and bare branches of a pine forest near Beit Shemesh after Wednesday night's blaze. (Y. Zakariya/Mezuz)

10,000 dunams destroyed Heavy fire damage

By ANDY COURT

For The Jerusalem Post

A desert wind blew through the ashen forest yesterday as Jewish National Fund supervisor Danny Raviv viewed the damage done by fires that devastated thousands of dunams in the Beit Shemesh area Wednesday.

"You can't put a dollar value on this," Raviv said. "It takes a generation to grow a forest. Even if you have \$3 million, you can't say, 'Here's \$3m., give me a forest like this.'"

JNF officials estimate that over 10,000 dunams of pasture, forest and scrubland were ravaged. Agricultural land was affected as well.

The most extensive damage was in the vicinity of Beit Guvrin, where some 6,000-8,000 dunams - most of it pasture, but some of it natural forest - were burned. An IDF exercise may have caused the blaze, a fire official said yesterday.

Two other fires, one near Sdot Micha and the other near Yishai, were started some other way, possibly by a careless smoker, or a farmer burning brush, foresters said.

The forested area hit hardest was the JNF's Yishai forest on the south of Nahal Sorek, where Raviv stood yesterday.

"This is one of the most dangerous fires I've ever seen," he said. "The fire was very strong and leapt from the crown of one tree to the next."

Four aircraft dropped water on the flaming trees, and 100 JNF workers attacked the fire from the ground. Firefighters were not available, because the blaze in the Beit Guvrin area posed more of a threat to settlements and farm land, said Eli Perez, commander of the Beit Shemesh fire station.

About 300 dunams of trees were destroyed. JNF officials will now have to decide whether to replant the area immediately or wait to see how much reforestation occurs naturally.

In the coming days, the charred trees will be cleared away so that the wood can be sold for industrial use. The eucalyptus trees will grow again if they are cut just above the roots. The pine and spruce will only regenerate through their seeds, which were probably not damaged in the fire, Raviv said.

Jerusalem Committee plans for the future

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Jerusalem Committee, the international panel of advisers appointed by Mayor Teddy Kollek 18 years ago, plans to reshape itself in order to continue functioning into the post-Kollek era.

A small group of foreign and Israeli committee members met yesterday in the capital to begin drawing up a list of candidates to replace many of the distinguished but elderly architects, educators, clerics and others who are on the committee.

"We feel it is very important for the committee to continue," said Prof. Julian Beinart, an urban specialist from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, speaking for his colleagues. "The committee will renew itself with a new generation of outstanding experts, and looks forward to the next 20 years as advisers and monitors."

A plenary meeting of the recon-

stituted committee is tentatively planned for December.

The committee, which includes some of the most prominent planners in the world, in its early years played an important role in turning the tide against plans to build super-highways and additional high-rise towers in Jerusalem. In more recent years, its direction has been less clear.

Beinart said the committee will deal less in future with the city's physical development and more with questions of quality of life, including inter-communal relations and social and cultural questions. A major thrust will be devolution of power from the municipality to the neighborhoods. Beinart and committee member Amos Elon revealed that the committee was "actively considering" seeking Arab representation in its ranks.

The committee members expressed the hope of serving any mayor who succeeds Kollek.

100 refuseniks petition U.S. team at arms meet

By WALTER RUBY

Jerusalem Post Reporter

NEW YORK. - More than 100 refuseniks have appealed to the U.S. delegation at the Vienna Conference on the Reduction of Armed Forces to press the Soviet Union to allow all Soviet Jews to immigrate to Israel.

The petition, which was signed by such well-known refuseniks as Arcadi May, Mark Shifrin, V.I. Dashevsky and I. Briskman, was given to me shortly before I left Moscow on Wednesday.

In recent months, the Soviet government has increased the numbers of Jews allowed to immigrate to Israel, but has also stepped up the number of refusals to would-be emigrants because of supposed

knowledge of state secrets.

The petition calls on the U.S. to press the Soviets to stop denying people the right to emigrate on this ground, and states that if there is such a refusal, the Soviet authorities should be required to tell the refused person the nature of the sensitive information he supposedly has and say how long he will be forced to remain in the Soviet Union.

The petition also demands that the Soviet government stop denying people exit visas because of supposed secrets possessed by relatives, and that it stop the practice of allowing relatives and former spouses of refuseniks to block their emigration because of financial disputes.

Audiences - puzzled and pleased

By LEV BEARFIELD

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Your festival diarist has not been charged with the duty of reviewing any of the productions we see - that's the job of the critics. But nobody said we couldn't review the audiences.

During the past two weeks this reporter has been keeping notes on the crowds, jotting down piquant remarks and scraps of overheard conversation. Yesterday we look back over our notes to see if there were any common threads or themes.

Indeed there were.

Response to festival programmes seems to fall into two categories: pleasure and puzzlement.

Perhaps the most baffled theatre-goers were those who witnessed *E Pericoloso Sporgersi*, presented by the Theatre Cosmocomics of France.

"I didn't get it," said another woman succinctly. "I just didn't get it."

More puzzlement was expressed following the Kedma jazz trio's premiere performance of a piece especially written for the festival and called *Jerusalem - East and West*.

"Maybe East 59th Street and West 47th," muttered a man in the balcony. "I sure don't hear anything about Jerusalem in that jazz."

Following the La Mama production of the *Jerusalem oratorio*, we heard: "They said they were using 14 languages. I didn't understand any of them."

And during the first five minutes of the Smartut Theatre's *Golden*

FESTIVAL DIARY

Calf in Hinnom, someone said: "This can't be serious. They're pulling our leg."

But there were as many expressions of pleasure as puzzlement. We especially liked the little girl whose eyes bugged out on sighting Morti Mizrahi's huge statue in front of the Henry Crown Theatre. "He's big!" the child squealed. "And he has one-two-three-four-five-six arms!"

And one concert-goer marvelled after hearing the Tokyo Quartet: "Those Japanese - they must be Jewish!"

Three programmes are scheduled for this afternoon: the Martha Clarke dance company's *The Garden of Earthly Delights* at 2 p.m. at Binyanei Ha'uma; *A Report to the Academy in the Little Theatre* at 2:30 p.m.; and *E Pericoloso Sporgersi* at 3 p.m. at the Sherover Theatre.

The 27-day festival meanwhile marks its mid-point this weekend. New programmes opening tomorrow include the Arena Stage production of Arthur Miller's *The Crucible* at 8:30 p.m. at the Sherover Theatre; the Beit Liessin Theatre's *Pictures from a Distant Exhibition* at 10 p.m. at the Little Theatre; the Schoenberg-Berg-Webern salute at 8:30 p.m. at the Jerusalem Khan; and the Emile Dubois danced troupe's *Mammame* programme at 8:30 p.m. at the Mt. Scopus Amphitheatre. Cellist Yo. Yo Ma performs tomorrow at 8:30 p.m. at the Sultan's Pool, with Meadi Rodan conducting the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra.

On Sunday, May 31, the Theatre de l'Ephemere presents the first of its showings of *Those of Tergazur* at 8 p.m. at the Rebecca Crown Theatre.

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Hayotzair Hayerushalmi presents its "Arts and Crafts Market" in the French style Garden Cafe every Mon. & Thur. 6-10 p.m. at Alliance Francaise 8 Agon St., Tel. 760373

Orthodox Church head to arrive here today

By HAIM SHAPIRO

The ecumenical patriarch, Archbishop Demetrios I of Constantinople, is due to arrive here today for a week's visit to Israel and Jordan.

Although he is considered the

"first among equals" within the Orthodox Church, outsiders look on him as the figurehead of his Church.

During his visit, the patriarch is to call on President Herzog, Religious Affairs Minister Zevulun Hammer and Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek.

THE UNIVERSITY OF HAIFA

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Lecturer: Shafra Ben Barak Ph.D.

Sunday, May 31, 1987, 2:00 - 4:00 p.m., room 718, the main building.

Sponsored by Women to Women USA/ISRAEL. Lecture in Hebrew.



A small girl in a new dress for Id al-Fitr waves to passers-by in the Old City yesterday. The Muslim feast, which started yesterday, commemorates the end of the month-long Ramadan fast. (Jim Hollander/Reuters)

Honduran president at home in Bethlehem

By ELAINE RUTH FLETCHER

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Outside Bethlehem's Church of the Nativity, a Spanish-speaking Palestinian checked his watch set to the time in Miami, while Bethlehem city councillor Nasri al-Canavati offered a lively description of the last presidential contest in Honduras.

They were among the Palestinians living in Honduras - or with family there - who turned out yesterday for Honduran President Jose Ascona's visit to Bethlehem and Beit Jalla.

The visit marked the special ties that bind residents of the area to distant Central America.

While only 8,000 people live in Beit Jalla today and some 25,000 in Bethlehem, as many as 70,000 Palestinians in Honduras trace their roots back to one of the two cities - or to Beit Sahur.

The Honduran community is one of the larger Palestinian concentrations in Chile, Colombia, Mexico and Peru, said Aharon Asa, the Honduras consul-general in Jerusalem.

The emigration of primarily Christian Arabs to Central and South America began during the Turkish empire and continued during the British Mandate. Even today, the Palestinians in Honduras are occasionally referred to as "Turks" because of the Turkish passports they once carried, he said.

The ties to the "old country" have

been preserved in the second and third generation by tourism, family visits, property holdings and the custom many Honduran families have of sending their boys back here to marry local brides.

Canavati's vivid descriptions of the Honduran presidential elections came from first-hand knowledge. On one visit there, Canavati became caught up in the presidential campaign - albeit for the candidate that ran against Ascona.

Beit Jalla Mayor Farah al-Arach also spent many years in Honduras. His late cousin, George Larach - as the name is spelled in Honduras - ran one of Honduras's most important newspapers, *La Prensa*. And the family still operates the concern.

The other major paper, *El Tiempo*, is run by Honduran vice-president Haim Rosenthal, who along with the Honduran foreign minister and chief of staff is accompanying the president on his week-long visit to Israel.

Palestinian Arabs are the "wealthiest and most powerful business group in Honduras, they're hard-working people," Rosenthal said.

Jose Chahin, who set his watch to Miami time so he could coordinate his Honduran operations with other interests in the U.S., recalled boyhood days in Bethlehem in the 1940s. He later moved to Honduras and spent 41 years there, returning for his last visit in 1972.

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'In time of war or peace, the law must be obeyed, otherwise outrageous things will be done'

The law and the dignity of man

Knesset Reporter Dvora Getzler interviews the former president of the Supreme Court, Justice Shimon Agranat, on the disclosures about methods used in the Shin Bet

"THE RULE of the law is all about the dignity of man. That Nafsu was treated during his interrogation as if he were a thing, and not a human being. Nothing, but nothing, justifies that!"

The speaker is former Supreme Court president Justice Shimon Agranat, today over 80 and still, though obviously shaken and concerned by recent revelations of General Security Services methods, "an optimist, though I sometimes think that maybe that optimism is just so much wishful thinking."

How would he define the rule of law which seems to have been so appallingly flouted by the Shin Bet?

"It's exactly what it says it is; that a person's conduct must be within the rule of law."

"That applies particularly to people who have been given legal powers, of any sort. Those powers must be used only within the law, and only for the purposes for which they were given, even - and this is very important - when the exercise of that power is at the person's absolute discretion."

Does Israel's special situation of continuing semi-war and the constant threat of terrorism in any way modify that definition?

"No, no! Whether in time of war or peace, the law must be obeyed, otherwise outrageous things will be done. In time of war, emergency

powers may be given to a government, which would not ordinarily be used. But even then, that power is limited by the law."

The judge recalls the restrictions placed on Japanese-Americans in the U.S. after Pearl Harbor. The Supreme Court of the time refused to intervene. But, says Agranat, its failure to do so has since been severely criticized.

"The trouble is that war sometimes carries people away. The excitement may do something during wartime, and most people may agree that it had a right to do it, even if it's contrary to law, because people get carried away."

As an illustration of that form of mass hysteria in Israel, he cites the closure of two Communist newspapers in 1953. At issue was the power vested in the interior minister, under a Mandatory law, to close a paper if it published material likely to cause a disturbance of the peace. "There was no question that what those papers wrote was untrue, even libelous. But that wasn't the point."

The question that the High Court had to resolve was whether the minister had used his discretionary powers properly. Was there a probability of a disturbance of the peace? We decided that there was no evidence for that. And so we held that the minister had exceeded his powers; which means he had acted against the rule of law."



Shimon Agranat



Shin Bet operative Yossi Ginosar



Former state comptroller Yitzhak Tunik, above, and former Mossad head Zvi Zamir, who have been appointed by Prime Minister Shamir to investigate Shin Bet procedures.



AGANAT RETURNS to the present: "Extorting a confession from a suspect by use of force, any form of violence, even by offering him bribes or any other sort of benefit, is similarly contrary to the rule of law."

"The law says that a confession is only admissible in evidence if given voluntarily. That was not the case in the Nafsu affair."

Plea bargaining, he emphasizes, is a voluntary arrangement. The rules governing it were laid down in Israel some years ago, at the request of the Supreme Court, by the then attorney-general Meir Shamgar, today president of the Supreme Court. The arrangement may sometimes help the prosecution to get its conviction, "and they have to get their convictions," Agranat says with a wry smile, "and it's not always so easy, because as long as there is a reasonable doubt about the accused's guilt, he must be acquitted."

Agranat indicates that he is "isn't too happy" about one recent change in the laws of evidence that admits "hearsay" evidence. The problem arose when the prosecution's witnesses were found to have retracted in court the pre-trial testimony given to the police, generally because they had been "persuaded" to do so by the accused. Under the new law, such pre-trial statements are now accepted as evidence provided that the policeman is available in court for cross-examination.

"The law," he continues, "is reflected in many ways, but a democratic state, particularly, is based on the rule of law. But it's true that in what you call our state of semi-war the rule of law is a great strain on the authorities."

The Shin Bet is now likely to claim that it needs similar special concessions. "They'll probably say they have no other way of catching and bringing terrorists and spies to trial."

The service, Agranat agrees, is in a legal bind. And the biggest bind of all, he stresses, is that the courts will, in future, "be very wary" of believing Shin Bet personnel.

"The approach in the past was always that you trusted the Shin Bet version even when a suspect claimed a confession had been extorted by force. The argument was that the accused had a personal interest in making such a claim, while the Shin Bet had no such personal interest."

"Maybe some prophylactic method will be found to help them. But fundamentally, they cannot, should not act against the law, because look what's happened here, and who knows how many other cases like this exist."

"But it has really to do with the dignity of the individual who was created in the image of God. That's why the rule of law is abided by. Yes, an offence against the dignity of man is an offence against the rule of law."

Agranat agrees that the conduct of Shin Bet operative Yossi Ginosar, as described by Nafsu's was an offence against the law both as an

onslaught on Nafsu's dignity as a human being, and in purely legal terms.

"The law never provided for him to rip off Nafsu's clothes, spit on him, throw him on the floor. And as for psychological means, those, too, have been barred by the Supreme Court."

Any "leeway" found to help the Shin Bet must ensure that the accused person's rights are protected. Agranat insists. "And it must be decided on by the law, within the law."

He agrees that the same climate of hysteria that he referred to earlier could well help to shape that law in a possibly undesirable direction. "But that's the risk of democracy," he says, indicating that whatever its limitations, we have no better system.

"Yes, that can happen. Take the matter of the recent calls to reintroduce capital punishment for terrorists. Those who want that done would never agree to a death penalty for Jewish terrorists. But there have been Jewish terrorists."

HE HAS NO other advice for the Shin Bet but that they remain within the law, and realize that nothing puts them above the law. He believes, though he sounds wistful as he says it, that recent events have taught the Shin Bet that lesson, and points with evident approbation to the resignation of three Shin Bet men who refused to continue in the wake of the No. 300 bus affair. "It must all surely have an effect."

And they'll still get their confessions. The police manage it, and so can they. Oh yes, I know the police aren't always right, but where they've acted wrongly, it usually comes out in court. I will remember a case where the police themselves retracted a murder 'confession' because they knew it would not stand up before the judges."

How does he feel about a remark made to *The Jerusalem Post* in the Knesset this week by Tehiya MK Gershon Shafat that the Shin Bet should differentiate in its interrogation methods between Israeli citizens and IDF personnel (such as Nafsu) and Palestinian terrorists?

"Well, if that's his opinion... I've been carried away," Agranat replies. "I don't believe in discrimination."

"The trouble is that we don't have a constitutional bill of rights, that we don't have a constitution. If we had, the law would be constantly tested against it and the basic civil liberties of the individual would be guaranteed."

Agranat is unwilling to buy into political arguments. But he does say that, in appointing former state comptroller Yitzhak Tunik and former Mossad head Zvi Zamir to prove Shin Bet procedures, "Premier Yitzhak Shamir wanted to avoid a judi-

cial commission." That, he hints, would be the appropriate way to investigate what has happened.

Judicial commissions, he says, are meant to cope with matters such as the Nafsu case, which have stirred up intense public concern. Their legal powers, and their appointment by the president of the Supreme Court ensures their political independence and "removes any suspicion that they may whitewash the government."

"But of course the executive doesn't like those commissions because they put it on trial."

DOES HE not agree that in permitting Ariel Sharon to remain in the cabinet, the Begin government flouted the recommendations of the Kahane commission set up to probe the Sabra and Shatila massacres of 1982?

"Personally, I suspect that the commission didn't intend its recommendation to be interpreted as the attorney-general read it: that Sharon need only resign as defence minister."

But they phrased it that way: that Sharon himself must draw the necessary inferences - he, personally..."

Looking back on the commission probing the events that let up to the Yom Kippur War and the early conduct of that war, Agranat, who chaired that body, says that he and his colleagues decided that the question of ministerial responsibility was none of their business.

"We decided that accountability to the Knesset was a political question. And it's a political question because it's a question of confidence. There's no rule that says a minister has to resign. But there is the matter of confidence. Ya'acov Shimshon Shapira resigned from the cabinet because Gold Meir wouldn't dismiss Moshe Dayan and Shapira didn't want to serve any longer in a government that included Dayan."

Agranat, who came to this country from the U.S. in 1930, remains guardedly optimistic that the rule of law will triumph in Israel.

"We have the attorney-general... in the past those who held the job, together with their staff, were very

careful about such things, as we saw in Judith Karp's recent report on the Shin Bet. And we have ministers. That's what ministers are for."

Was the president's pardon of the Shin Bet men implicated in the No. 300 bus affair a blow to the rule of law?

"Well, that's the general opinion, the legal opinion of many," he answers, adding that the president had explained his action in the interests of national security. "But to evaluate that statement you have to know the facts, and he didn't disclose the facts. He sort of said, 'Take it from me.'"

"No, I don't think they should have been pardoned, although it was done on the basis of an opinion expressed by me many years ago. But I don't like expressing opinions when I don't know all the facts."

"Things have gone wrong. And they have to be put right. But to be pessimistic about the chances of putting them right means giving up on the future of the State of Israel." □

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This play, which examines some of the controversial political and social issues facing Israel today, has been accepted for this year's Edinburgh Festival Fringe.

Jerusalem stage two is a new professional theatre company, which performs in English and Hebrew.

Khan Theatre, Jerusalem:
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Tickets at the box office. Advance booking recommended.

The Galilee's beauty is meant for you!

During the Shavuot holiday, rural Galilee settlements, under the auspices of the Jewish Agency's Settlement Department, will hold open house.

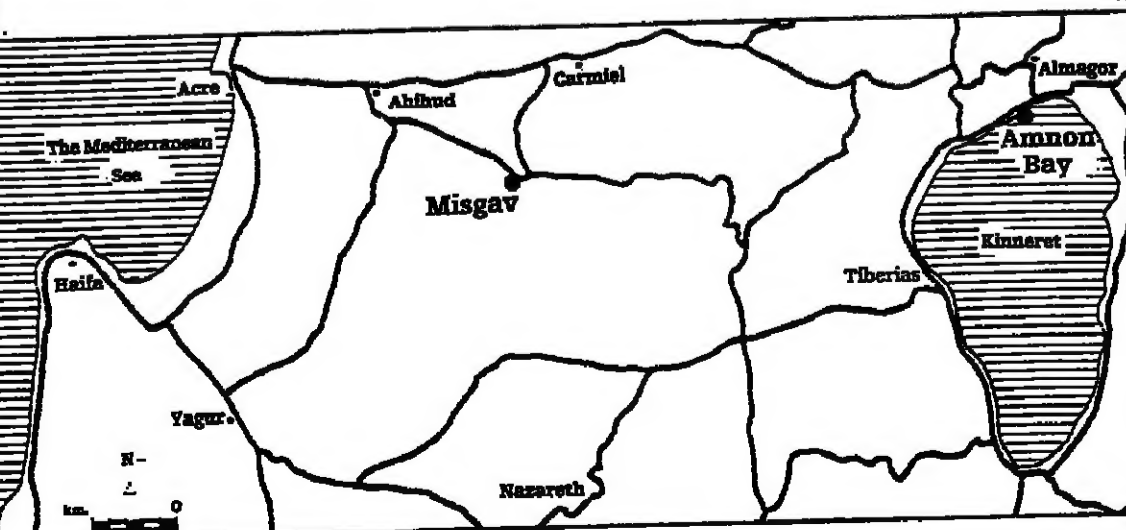
A meeting has been arranged with representatives of settlements from two central locations for families interested in joining communal settlements/villages, moshavim shitufim or kibbutzim. Briefings on the region's settlements and details of available tours will be given on Wednesday, June 3, 1987, from 9:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m., at the two locations.

1. Misgav
At the Misgav regional council in Central Galilee visitors will be welcomed by representatives of the area's settlements, who will speak on the various forms of settlement and absorption possibilities and conditions. From there it will be possible to set out for tours of the settlements, which are set in impressive rocky terrain.

Representatives of young Galilee kibbutzim interested in new members - families and singles - will set up information booths at Misgav and give advice on tours.

Persons interested in organized transport should register in advance by calling: Tel. 03-262240, Sun.-Thurs., 8:00 a.m.-1:00 p.m.

2. Amnon Bay
In the north-west section of Kinneret you will be met by representatives of settlements from that area, the Tzalmom bloc, the Galilee hill-land and lower eastern Galilee. On site briefings will be given on the development of the region and its settlements; there will be a get-together with the settlers; performances of song and dance by the area's residents and guided tours.



The Society for the Protection of Nature will have information centres at the two locations which will advise visitors on possible excursion routes and sell information sheets and maps.

Galilee Rural Settlements under the Auspices of The Jewish Agency.

Pollard-Shmollard

Yosef Lapid

IT'S TRUE enough that American Jews are angry over the way in which the government of Israel handled the Pollard affair.

But contrary to popular opinion here, they are not angry at the government for having operated Pollard; they are angry at the government for having abandoned Pollard.

In the past month, I have met with hundreds of American Jews in a dozen communities: with ultra-Orthodox Jews at the home of their rabbi in Queens; with auto spare-parts dealers at a Hilton dinner in Manhattan; with Hadassah women in Brooklyn; with young lawyers in Hartford, Connecticut; with businessmen in Baltimore — the entire varied spectrum of American Jewry.

At every meeting, in every place, the Pollard affair came up. There were those who called Rafi Eitan's and Aviem Sella's advancement "foolhardy." But there was not even one who spoke critically of using Pollard to begin with. On the contrary. Some declared, in the presence of others, that they would have acted exactly as Pollard did had they been in his place. And some condemned the American government for not having offered Israel the Arab secrets which Pollard stole. And, as if they had discussed it together beforehand, they condemned Pol-

lard's abandonment in almost identical terms: "Is that any way to treat a Jew who helped Israel?"

I am not trying to justify Pollard's recruitment as a spy. It was, given the circumstances, stupid. As Talleyrand said about the execution of the duc d'Enghien: "Worse than a crime — a mistake."

But with the publication of the reports of the two committees investigating the Pollard affair here, it is worth noting the erroneous impression created here, that American Jewry had been aroused against us; that because of the charges of "dual loyalty," American Jews were questioning the value of an overly close relationship with Israel.

NO SUCH THING. The Jews there feel excellent as American citizens and they have a deep sense of commitment to Israel. "I love my mother and I love my father and they cause me no problems of dual loyalty," a New York shipping agent explained to me. And a young doctor in Kingston, whom I questioned about the degree of his concern over the repercussions of the Pollard affair, replied: "Pollard-Shmollard."

How, then, did we receive the erroneous impression that we had

angered and worried American Jewry?

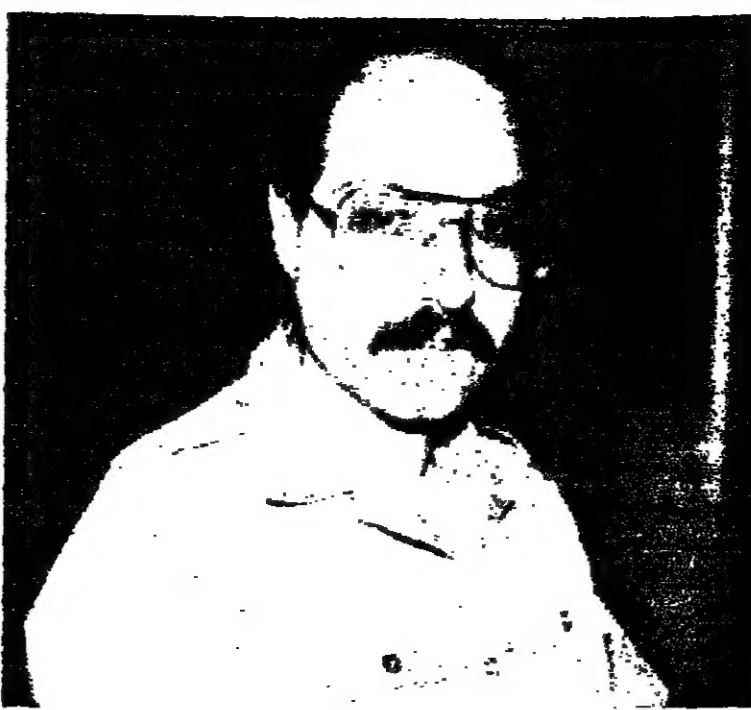
The answer is both interesting and important, for it has a bearing on other areas as well.

We did indeed anger the thin layer of Jews who belong to the political establishment in Washington: we worried those, who as active members of Jewish organizations, are close to the establishment; and we aroused the Jewish journalists in the American media who are anxious about their image.

These are the Jews who panicked and it is they who created the impression that American Jewry as a whole was alarmed.

But this layer, as important and honourable as it may be, does not represent the popular Jewish mood, does not express the deepest desires of millions of Jews, and is not involved in Jewish life beyond taking part in cocktail parties for senators or film stars. These representative Jews are more concerned about their status in Washington than in what's happening at the synagogues or the Jewish country clubs. They are closer to the temples of Japhet than to the tents of Shem. They put more store in what the goyim think than in what the Jews feel. It is not their opinions that should decide what Israelis are to do.

(By arrangement with Ma'ariv.)



(W. Blitzer)

THERE HAVE been some strange quirks in the latest twists and turns in the Jonathan Jay Pollard spy scandal.

Incredible as it may sound, both Israel Air Force Colonel Aviem Sella, who has been indicted as Pollard's first "handler" in Washington, and U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese, who ultimately is responsible for prosecuting Sella, are now represented by the same Washington attorney, Nathan Lewin.

Meese has his own legal headaches. He is being investigated by a special federal prosecutor on charges of improper involvement in financial contract kickback arrangements in what is known as the Wedtech scandal. He needed a smart criminal lawyer. Like Sella, Meese turned to Lewin, one of the best in the U.S. capital.

Pollard's parents have also managed to get a new attorney to help in their son's appeal for a possible sentence reduction. Alan Dershowitz, the famed Harvard University legal scholar, has agreed to help the former civilian naval intelligence analyst who is currently serving a life sentence in a federal prison in Springfield, Missouri.

U.S. News and World Report, in a lengthy cover story published on Pollard this week, portrayed him as "a flamboyant poseur who falsely portrayed himself as a master spy for Israel, then joined the U.S. intelligence community to live out his fantasies."

It reported that the CIA had concluded that Pollard was "a fanciful liar, a closet spy, a Zionist zealot and a drug abuser" before he was granted top secret security clearances to work for naval intelligence. Amazingly, the magazine article said, the CIA refused to share its assessment of Pollard with the navy, considering its records "its own business."

The Pollard affair clearly remains a bone stuck in the throat of the Americans, yet by all accounts, it does not appear to have had any serious impact on the level of day-to-day cooperation between the two countries in intelligence-sharing.

political coordination and military strategic planning.

In recent weeks, several senior U.S. military officials have visited Israel while their Israeli colleagues have come to Washington. A meeting of the joint U.S.-Israeli military-political group on strategic cooperation convened in Israel on schedule. The chief of Israeli military intelligence, Aluf Amnon Shahak, came to Washington where he even met Pollard's old boss at U.S. naval intelligence — among many other senior U.S. intelligence officials.

Most recently, on the same morning that American officials were first reading about the two Israeli investigatory reports on the Pollard affair, on the front page of The Washington Post, top Pentagon brass showed up at the Israel Embassy's third annual Research and Development Cooperation Conference in Washington. The purpose of the three-day event is to strengthen cooperation between U.S. and Israeli defence-related industries.

WASHINGTON and Jerusalem recognize that, despite the hard feelings generated by Israel's successful penetration of the U.S. intelligence community, both countries have an overriding mutual interest in not allowing the Pollard case to overly damage American-Israeli relations. There is simply too much at stake.

This also explains why the public U.S. response to the release of the two Israeli reports this past week was muted. The U.S. Justice Department did not issue any formal reaction. A spokesman, Pat Korten, simply said: "We don't think it's appropriate to comment." He noted, however, that the reports will not affect the investigation which is continuing. Some U.S. law-enforcement authorities suspect that Pollard may have been part of a broader Israeli espionage network operating in the U.S.

At the State Department, a spokesman simply expressed hope that the Israeli government will take the necessary steps to ensure that a

Strange quirks

In Washington, both the indicted IAF colonel, Aviem Sella, and U.S. Attorney-General Edwin Meese share the same lawyer. The CIA reportedly concluded Jonathan Pollard was a 'closet spy' before he was given top secret security clearances to work for naval intelligence. Post Correspondent Wolf Blitzer examines the current muted mood in Washington following the two Israeli reports on the spy debacle.

Pollard-like operation can never recur in Washington.

In addition, the spokesman signalled America's irritation that Rafael Eitan, the veteran Israeli intelligence operative who was in overall charge of running Pollard, was apparently going to be allowed to maintain his post as chairman of Israel Chemicals. Israel had originally promised "to call into account" those officials involved in the espionage ring.

From the start, Reagan administration officials were generally prepared to accept Israel's position that Pollard was part of a "rogue" unit. But once the Israeli government gave Eitan such a plum job and then promoted Sella to command the Tel Nof Air Base — a promotion later reversed following an extraordinary outcry from the U.S. — the administration was forced to come down very hard on Israel.

What was most ironic about the entire Pollard affair was the fact that when the former analyst was arrested by FBI agents outside the Israel Embassy in November 1985, U.S.-Israeli relations, by any definition, were clearly stronger than they had ever been before.

IN ADDITION, American Jews working in national security areas will continue to feel that they may be suspected by their non-Jewish colleagues.

Probably more than any other group of Americans, these Jewish intelligence officials are most furious about Pollard's actions which, they believe, have seriously undermined their own positions.

Elsewhere in the American Jewish community, there was some sense of relief that the Eban and Rotenstreich-Tsur reports did not accuse any of the top political leaders in Jerusalem of directly knowing about Pollard's espionage activities. They praised the reports as underlining the democratic character of Israel.

Abraham Foxman, the associate executive director of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, pointed

out that the two Israeli reports were similar in scope to the Tower Commission report in Washington on the Iran-Contra arms affair. That U.S. report simply laid out the facts, without making any specific recommendations about overall guilt or responsibility. The same was true in Israel.

But there can be no denying that Israel's best friends in the U.S., are becoming increasingly embarrassed by the latest wave of scandals coming out of Israel. The two Pollard reports, for instance, came immediately after the Shin Bet was revealed as having come close to torturing an Israeli Circassian army officer into confessing treason. "Court Finds Israel Framed a Moslem," read a front-page headline in The New York Times.

In the aftermath of the Pollard affair, the Shin Bet scandals, the arms sales to Iran, the allegations of covert Israeli support to the Contra rebels in Nicaragua, Israel's ties to South Africa, Jewish terrorism on the West Bank, and other sordid political developments in Israel, even Israel's best friends are increasingly ready to accept some ugly insinuations against Israel.

But it would be a mistake to conclude that all of these latest developments in Israel were dominating the thinking of official Washington or the American public. The big stories in the U.S. evolve around the Iran-Contra affair and the escalating tension in the Persian Gulf following the Iraqi air attack on the USS Stark. The sex and money scandals involving the Rev. Jim Bakker and his wife, Tammy, also dominate the news.

Thus, there is little talk in Washington of an international peace conference on the Arab-Israeli conflict, the momentum toward one virtually disappearing following Foreign Minister Shimon Peres's inability to win governmental approval for his proposals. But the cumulative public relations damage to Israel's image while perhaps contained, is still real.

Ignorance is the common factor

Arye Naor

BEYOND political considerations and differences of opinion about personal responsibility, there is a lot in common between the two Pollard probes: the political echelon that bears ministerial or parliamentary responsibility knew nothing of the espionage operation carried out by Lekem in the United States. That top secret intelligence unit worked within the framework of the Ministry of Defence; but neither Moshe Arens nor Yitzhak Rabin had the slightest idea that some of their subordinates had decided upon, and were carrying out, such an operation without their permission.

Taking into account the personalities of Arens and Rabin and the fact that both had been ambassadors to the U.S., one has reason to assume that had that operation been brought to the attention of either of them, he would have cancelled it without hesitation.

That is why neither of them was found personally responsible. The Rotenstreich-Tsur panel and the Eban subcommittee disagree about who should bear the abstract "ministerial responsibility." According to the panel, the government as a whole is responsible, while the subcommittee mentions four senior ministers who, to varying degrees, are responsible. But in spite of criticisms, neither of the two probes recommended any personal conclusions.

In his customary diplomatic language, Abba Eban said that his subcommittee's criticisms and strictures "do not mean any inevitable political conclusions," which means that no personal change in the top echelon of either the Alignment or the Likud is predicted.

Of course, along with the warming-up of the weather, a hot political atmosphere is anticipated for the coming months. The Likud will try to make capital out of the subcommittee's conclusion that, being prime minister when the Pollard affair erupted, Shimon Peres had "more parliamentary responsibility" than his colleagues — the equals among whom he was first. In concrete terms that expression means nothing. And besides, it has no bearing on the damage caused to Israel by the Lekem's mobilization of Pollard. At that time, Peres was still leader of the opposition.

Nevertheless, it was none other than Ariel Sharon who called upon Peres to resign — the same Ariel Sharon who had accused a judicial commission of inquiry headed by the president of the Supreme Court of "putting the mark of Cain or Israel's forehead for generations to come" because they had found him personally responsible for the Sabra and Shatila disaster and recommended his dismissal from the post of defence minister.

In the light of Sharon's subsequent

career, one may wonder what, if any, is the political meaning of being responsible for real failures which cost innocent lives.

THE POLITICAL aspect of the subcommittee's hearings and findings was inevitable. The Knesset is very different from the U.S. Congress in the voting system and in the separation of powers. Because of the Knesset's voting system, an MK is far more dependent on his party than a congressman. Hence the exaggerated political character of discussions and decision-making in our parliament.

On the other hand, the government is dependent on the Knesset's confidence, and the separation of powers, between the executive and the legislative branches is limited. A Knesset committee does not have the powers, and cannot have the responsibilities, of a congressional or a Senate committee.

There is no process of public testimony and cross-examination in a parliamentary committee here. It has no power to insist on a report by a civil servant who wishes to remain silent, and there is no sanction for misleading it or even for telling lies.

'Ministerial responsibility requires being kept fully informed...

Operating in such circumstances, the Eban subcommittee could not disregard political considerations on one hand and could not be certain beyond any reasonable doubt of the validity of its findings on the other hand.

The Rotenstreich-Tsur panel was also limited in its powers. Perhaps a state commission of inquiry like the Kahan Commission formed after the Sabra-Shatila massacre could be more specific in factual findings as well as in conclusions and recommendations. By its very nature the panel's tendency was to generalize rather than be specific, at least with regard to the consequences of responsibility. From a legal point of view, it is doubtful if the panel could act otherwise, for procedural as well as material considerations. Thus neither of the two investigating bodies had enough power to really discover how it was that the Lekem became involved in that stupid, ungrateful activity inside the American intelligence community.

Nevertheless a comparative study of the two reports shows clearly that

the operation was unauthorized and unapproved, and this means that governmental supervision of the intelligence community is far from being effective.

THIS IS THE common denominator of the General Security Service scandals and the Pollard affair. When the affair of bus 300 was made public, Prime Minister Shamir said he had known "everything a prime minister should."

That was a typical mistake. Partly because of primitive methods of supervision and partly because of political convenience, Israeli premiers often do not know what a prime minister should about the activities of the secret services, most of them reporting directly to him.

Did a prime minister allow investigators to do what was done to Nafsu? Almost all our premiers would have been shocked to know that their subordinates had done something like that. Discipline within the Shin Bet is very high. How could things such as the Nafsu injustice, or the killing of prisoners on Bus 300 and the subsequent distortion of truth and false accusation against an innocent General Mordchai have occurred? How did it happen that an esteemed organization like the Shin Bet was recently involved twice in plots against army officers?

One may assume that it all stems from a lack of effective supervision — the same cause of trouble as was found in the background of the Pollard scandal. It has always been the practice in the state of Israel not to interfere in secret activities, and to rely on those who know and those who operate. But it is time to grow up. Ministerial responsibility requires being kept fully informed of circumstances, plans, operational methods, means and targets, as well as of pros and cons of any significant operation and any change of policy. Under any other conditions, ministerial responsibility is a meaningless phrase.

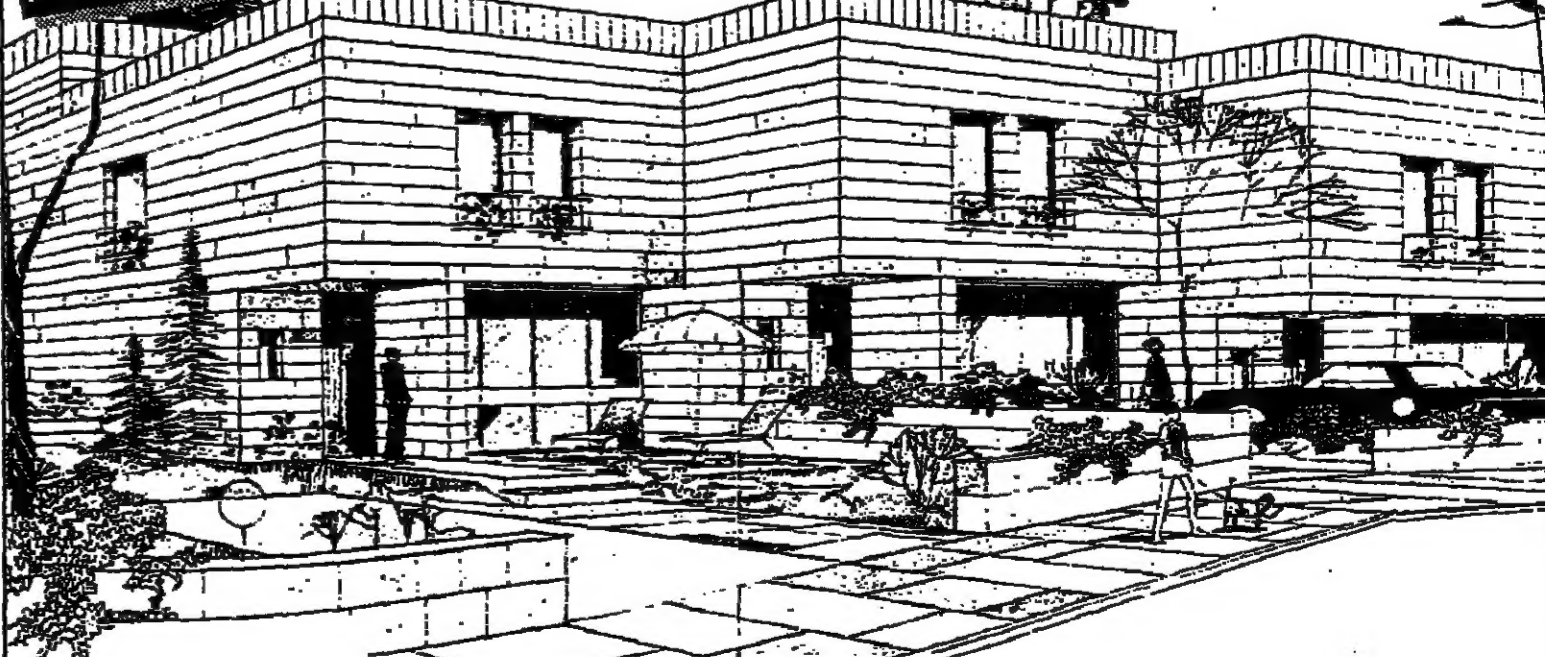
This is not mere sophistry. Without full information, decision-making at ministerial, and sometimes at cabinet level must be far from satisfactory.

In other words, if we take the supervision of the secret services as a sample of governmental dysfunction it is easy to understand many of the mistakes resulting from our decision-making process. When cabinet ministers do not know all the relevant facts, it is only by a miracle that they can make a rational decision.

Governability is one of Israel's difficulties. If the recent scandals contribute to increasing public awareness of the inevitable defects stemming from the system, there is still hope of changing our political culture and its dismal appearances in the cabinet room.

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IT IS TODAY generally acknowledged that what can be termed "the religious problem" of the State of Israel is one of the three major problems facing the country, along with that of security and the economy. Indeed, in a sense it is the most pressing, since it is an internal spiritual problem, and an Israel increasingly divided into hostile groups internally will find it much harder to face external threats. The need of the hour is the calming of passions, a searching for understanding and a common ground, and not denunciations, distortions, and escalating tensions. Therefore, I was very saddened to read in *The Jerusalem Post* of February 13, the article by Rabbi Goren entitled "Israel needs its religion."

Although I am not a Reform Jew and have reservations about Reform conversions, nevertheless, as a student of Jewish history who is concerned with accuracy, perspective and the future, I feel that it is incumbent on me to respond to some of the points raised by Rabbi Goren.

He writes, "As long as hostile elements and denominations did not interfere, coalition governments with religious parties existed and a partnership between the various groups was developed. Only when the anti-Zionist Reform and Conservative movements began to mix into religious affairs, to incite against the state's religious laws and to stir up political squabbling among the parties due to their positive attitude toward religion, did the trouble and confusion begin."

Whether "hostile elements and denominations" have interfered or not, coalition governments with religious parties still exist today, although what kind of real partnership was developed beyond that of mere political expediency when it came to voting on certain issues in the Knesset is questionable.

"Anti-Zionist Reform and Conservative movements." I do not wish here to get into the argument as to whether Zionism means aliyah or not. If Zionism means only support of the State of Israel, then today "anti-Zionist" is wrong; while if it means aliyah, the adjective should be "non-Zionist." In either case, to brand Reform and Conservative Judaism in 1987 as "anti-Zionist" reflects either ignorance or malice.

"Only when [they] began to mix... did the troubles and confusion begin." Certainly, tensions in the Land of Israel began in most sectors of the Yishuv long before any Conservative or Reform influence was evident, and actually they can be traced back to the Haskala in Eastern Europe.

"The Reform and Conservative movements, which have caused widespread dissension in the Diaspora and yet have never had nor at the present have any roots in the Land of Israel, are inflaming passions on a subject that has absolutely no meaning in the State of Israel."

It is unclear what "widespread dissension" Reform and Conservative have caused in the Diaspora. They have just attempted to go their own way in societies that recognize freedom of conscience and of worship.

The statement about lack of roots is certainly a misrepresentation; albeit those roots are small - largely because of the legal situation and pressure brought to bear by the religious elements in the municipal and national governments - they

cannot be dismissed. With regard to the inflammation of passions, surely throwing stones at cars on Saturday or torching bus shelters in Jerusalem are not examples of passions ignited by Conservative and Reform Jews. Again, the passions go back to the Haskala. And if the subject has absolutely no meaning in the State of Israel, how can it inflame passions? Apparently it does have meaning here.

"WHAT IS OUR bond to Reform converts in Denver, Colorado? Whether Reform members are converted or not they still do not come on aliyah."

Rabbi Goren here seems to be arguing as the secular Zionists who view everything only from the perspective of aliyah, and not as a religious figure who should feel a bond with all religious people, especially if they wish to identify with the religion of the children of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and support the State of Israel. He is rejecting and denying the bond.

"They are attempting to compel us to accept their American religious divisions."

No, they just want to be recognized as Jews by the government of the State of Israel, as are all the Jews who live in the state. Furthermore, it really is not accurate to label the divisions as American, since they are not entirely of American origin nor confined only to America; indeed, they already exist in the State of Israel.

"The Reform movement has yet to establish even one community worthy of our attention."

Surely Rabbi Goren knows of the efforts that have been made to block the developments of Reform - and also Conservative - institutions by all possible means; by law, administrative chicanery, inaction and the like. Were Conservative and Reform given the same free hand to operate in Israeli society as the Orthodox, and the same equal funding for their institutions, a change would rapidly take place. Even under current conditions, due to the efforts of a few dedicated individuals, a slow change is already occurring.

"EVEN SECULAR Israelis are unwilling to grant recognition to rabbis who marry Christians and Jews in churches."

And they are right. But what does that have to do with Reform rabbis as a group? Today, almost all of them perform ceremonies in synagogues, and not in churches.

"The confusion was caused by a small number of converts sent here to instigate trouble and destroy the delicate fabric of intercommunal harmony that has hitherto existed."

It is not clear that the converts were sent; presumably they came on their own. But what if they had been sent; are not such tactics employed by all political and religious groups to succeed in their ends? Certainly those segments of Israeli Orthodoxy involved in politics have often been most successful in their fields of endeavour, using far more unsavoury means.

What delicate fabric of intercommunal harmony has existed hitherto? Who first resorted to compulsion in the sphere of religion, who threw the first stone and first resorted to torching bus shelters? While the mainstream Orthodox establishment and its members may not have

'Rabbinic tradition relates that the Second Temple was destroyed because of gratuitous hatred. Let us respect the right of the other to differ in the sphere of religious thought and work together to see that history does not repeat itself,' writes BENJAMIN RAVID

Orthodox dogmatism: a self-defeating way



there were more Reform and Conservative Jews here, things would change.

Maybe, if conditions were made somewhat more favourable, they would be more attracted to come. In the meantime, Rabbi Goren can sleep soundly at night, knowing that there will not be hundreds of Reform temples tomorrow.

WHILE I WANTED primarily to react to the first section of Rabbi Goren's article, which dealt with Shoshana Miller, I feel the necessity to point out a crucial omission in his subsequent portrayal of the position of religion in American society, which leads to a totally distorted picture.

Assuming that his account is basically correct as far as it goes, the problem is that he does not go far enough. He does not contrast the position in Israel of a specific denomination of religion sanctioned, supported and financed by the state with conditions in the U.S. Of course, the U.S. has no officially established religion, no Ministry of Religion, no government-financed religious school system.

Another unmentioned aspect of religious life in the U.S. is the almost complete elimination of restrictions on commercial and recreational activity on Sunday. More generally, the American government does not restrict private enterprise from operating stores, transportation and media systems 365 days a year.

The most telling tribute to the nature of American society, which recognizes the religious needs of man without imposing a specific approach, is cited by Rabbi Goren himself: he, not only a member of a religious group comprising less than three per cent of the population of the U.S. but a foreigner, was invited to deliver a ceremonial prayer for the opening session of Congress. Would any non-Orthodox American Jew - let alone a non-Jew - ever be given a similar honour here?

If, in Israel, there is, as Rabbi Goren asserts, "no relationship at all to the sacred books of the Jews, nor is there any respect for religion and tradition... all who attack the standard-bearers of Torah are considered acceptable and progressive," there are two alternatives. Either the Jewish tradition has no intrinsic value, or there has been a great failure on the part of the standard-bearers of Torah to communicate it in a manner that will command respect.

While the contribution of the secularists to the exacerbation of tensions cannot be denied or minimized, it is granted even by moderate religious figures that the religious establishments have been more interested in maintaining and advancing their political and material position than in providing spiritual and moral guidance which would attract those members of the non-Orthodox population who are searching for religious values back to the tradition. The sad result has been that the phenomenon of the Jewish religion has become so negative in the eyes of many secular Jews that they are opposed to the spread of Conservative and Reform institutions because they correctly identify them as religious and fear their potential growth and impact.

The justification of this stance is often the attitude that the Orthodox synagogue is "the synagogue in which I do not worship" and the self-characterization of the individual as "non-observant Orthodox." For the most part, this represents a transitional approach usually brought up in a traditional society, and is still held up as a model of authenticity by which to measure all other forms of Judaism.

This cannot be a viable long-range approach for promoting religious consciousness and identity, since as a rule it cannot be transmitted to the next generation and perpetuated in the future.

THE BASIC problem underlying Rabbi Goren's article and the thinking of the Israeli Orthodox establishment is, of course, the fundamental unwillingness to recognize the validity of any form of Judaism other than Orthodoxy. Whatever one's own religious standpoint, it is essential to recognize that a major change took place in Judaism between 1800 and 1900 and that to turn back the clock would be impossible.

Complete adherence to the Halacha is no longer the only valid form of Jewish identity and expression and therefore appeals to remain Orthodox to maintain the unity of the Jewish people are futile.

Non-Orthodox Judaism should be applauded for its desire to identify itself with the Jewish tradition and with the State of Israel. Surely it is time to reaffirm the unity of the Jewish people and encourage all those who are interested in the State of Israel and support it. While their orientation may not be always halachic, they still perceive themselves as the children of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, whether by direct descent or by adoption, and they should be accepted as such and their right to differ in their interpretation recognized. It is the duty of the Israeli religious establishment, especially as long as it is government-sanctioned, to draw people closer to Zion and religion and not to reject by rhetorical distortions. If a sincere *ahava Yisrael* were not sufficient motivation, one would think that considerations of real-politik would be decisive.

Rabbi Goren's learned allusions to the Talmud and to the rabbinic tradition may be correct, but they are not relevant in the present context, as he unfortunately fails to perceive.

Again to cite historical precedent and analogy, it is similar to a Catholic Christian appealing to papal decisions and church councils in discussion with Protestant Christians who have long rejected their binding and coercive nature. And really this sense of being not binding is held by the majority of the Jewish people worldwide, not only by Reform Jews, but also by secular Israelis and many so-called "masorti" Israelis of "Sephardi and Oriental" origin, whose patterns of behaviour are most inconsistent indeed from a halachic standpoint. This fact does not in any way make the non-Orthodox viewpoint true, but it does make it an option within the Jewish world, and no amount of halachic citations and rulings will influence the non-Orthodox believer, just as no amount of discussion and argument will move the Orthodox.

And parenthetically, whether Conservative Judaism is ultimately halachically oriented or not is irrelevant in this context; Conservative Judaism and Jews should be concerned with formulating their own stance and demanding equal status irrespective of its nature, rather than keeping an eye to the right to see how they are being perceived. The issue is not the truth of any one approach, but the recognition of the right of the individual to find a meaningful way of life.

The Conservative and Reform grant Rabbi Goren recognition, but he will not grant them that, let alone the financial support given by the government to the Orthodox, even those which do not recognize its de-

jure right to exist.

In this connection, it is indeed completely unintelligible how the State of Israel can not only recognize but even financially support Jewish organizations and institutions which do not recognize its *de jure* right to existence but only grudgingly give it *de facto* recognition, while not granting equal status to non-Orthodox groups that include in their religious services prayers for its well-being and celebrate its Independence Day.

Most Jewish Israelis would wish to retain the Sabbath as the day of rest, and continue to see the Jewish holidays taught and the traditional Jewish texts studied to at least some extent in the schools. What is really intended and desired is the disestablishment of Orthodox Judaism as the state-sanctioned form of Judaism, with all that such a special status entails.

Disestablishment will benefit synagogue, state, and society alike. The Orthodox will have the freedom to have their own institutions, completely run by themselves as they wish and at their own expense; the non-Orthodox will have equal rights.

Perhaps as a result of the new atmosphere, the Jewish tradition will gain respect and have more appeal to the secular Jews, many of whom supposedly are searching for spiritual values. All alike, from ultra-hardcore to ultra-secular, agree who will be the only losers from disestablishment.

RABBI GOREN himself perceives that such a solution may be the only answer to the current situation: "Since the compulsory nature of religious laws increases hatred against religion, perhaps the separation of religion and state would cool off the heated debate and intense struggle between the secular and religious communities, thereby allowing the holy Torah to exist outside the political arena of the state."

Here Rabbi Goren, who is generally not considered to be representative of the more extreme Orthodox stance, has revealed his real political outlook and aspirations. Earlier in his article, Rabbi Goren praised Ben-Gurion for establishing the religious-secular *status quo* and accused Shoshana Miller and those who allegedly sent her here of trying to upset it. But now we see clearly that it is Rabbi Goren who ultimately wants to change the *status quo* in a drastic revolutionary sense in the opposite direction, in the name of the Torah: "those Jews who in their hearts fear God and are faithful to the Torah and its precepts... should not be partners in the desecration of God's name through the existence of a secular Jewish state in the Holy Land without Torah and the commandments."

So all Orthodox Jews should regard the State of Israel as a *hillul hashem*. Last this appears to be drawing an unwarranted inference, one should recall the words of the current Ashkenazi chief rabbi in *The Jerusalem Post* of March 30, 1987.

"When people refer to religious extremism, what they are in fact referring to is normative Torah Judaism." And Rabbi Goren himself suggests the fundamental nature of the desired Torah state: "No one disagrees that even the most democratic of nations must have a penal system to deter criminal acts. Perhaps there should be a similar attitude toward the laws of the Torah, religion and ethics, i.e., the state may erect a penal system for those who transgress in order to preserve the spiritual and ethical standard of the people."

Maybe in response one might paraphrase the famous statement of Clemenceau-Tonnerre during the discussion over the emancipation of the Jews during the French Revolution that "to the Jews as a nation, nothing; to the Jews as individuals,

everything," and assert: "to Orthodox Jewry as a religious-political bloc, nothing; to all Jews as individuals, everything."

If we read the Bible, we will see that God said to Abraham, "to your descendants will I give this land." He did not specify "only to your traditionally-religious descendants" or even your non-traditionally-religious ones.

A Jewish state must be a state for all the Jews: of course every opportunity must be given for the observance of the Halacha, but it cannot be legislated upon those who do not wish it. Those who believe in the binding nature of the oral law and that one should study the rabbinic tradition day and night should be allowed to follow their convictions, despite the high social, economic and military cost. But in return, they must recognize the equal right of others to follow their convictions and consciences and to engage freely in the pursuit of religious, cultural, intellectual and other activities which are not included in the rabbinic tradition.

And on the other side, the non-religious should not mistakenly interpret *liheyot am hofshi*, to be a free people, to mean that the Jewish people should be completely secular, but rather that all inhabitants of the state be free to determine their lifestyle without coercion by the government and its constituent organs.

PERMIT ME to conclude on a personal note. Rabbi Goren grew up in a certain religious-political milieu, received a certain type of education, and is convinced that he is possessed of the truth. His strident stance against Conservative and Reform reflects not only these factors, but also a great concern for the maintenance of the current Orthodox hegemony and a deep fear lest the *status quo* change.

My motivation in responding is my deep personal resentment at his deep personal resentment at his trying to write me out of Judaism. Both my grandfathers were delegates to Zionist Congresses, and one of them came on aliyah in 1922. My father and I devoted our lives, professional and personal, to Jewish matters, my children had a Jewish day-school education.

I find it most offensive to be told that I have effectively excluded myself from the Jewish faith. As a teacher, I have for almost 20 years explained to Jewish students of all persuasions, and also to non-Jews, the nature of the oral law, the Mishna and the Gemara and the rabbinic tradition in accordance with the Orthodox tradition, and then pointed out how and why the Reform and later Conservative views differed.

Rabbi Goren is right when he asserts in his title "Israel needs its religion." But its religion does not mean only its Orthodox camp. To reject those who are more liberal opens the door to one's own rejection by those who are more traditional. Conviction of the absolute validity of one's own religious views combined with the denial of the validity of the other to have the freedom to hold his own religious views and observe them without hindrance leads to suppression and totalitarianism, and creates a recoil. The need of the hour is sober moderation and restraint, and the avoidance of extremism in all spheres, especially that of religion.

Rabbinic tradition relates that the Second Temple was destroyed because of *sinat hinam*, gratuitous hatred. Let us respect the right of the other to differ in the sphere of religious thought and behaviour and work together to see that history does not repeat itself.

The writer is Jennie and Meyer Weisman Professor of Jewish History at Brandeis University and is spending the current academic year at the Institute for Advanced Studies at the Hebrew University.

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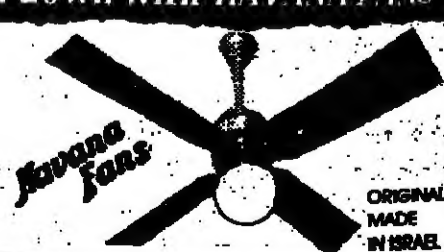
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'One old man has almost single-handedly created a convergence of interests between the Soviets and the West...'

Russians keep wary eye on Khomeini

SOVIET policy-makers probably consult scriptures less than their colleagues in many other nations. But with over 55 million Moslems, a quarter of the total population of the Soviet Union to rule, the Kremlin leaders recognize fundamentalist Islam handwriting on their wall, when they see it. And now they see it.

If there is a Bible handy in the Kremlin, they could easily look it up in Daniel V:25, *Mene Mene Tekel Upharsin*, whose gist is: "Thy kingdom is divided and given to the Medes and Persians."

Ayatollah Khomeini threatens not only Iraq but all the countries around Iran and beyond, and most of the Gulf states and Saudi Arabia.

The latest sign was the expulsion of Khomeini's embassy from Egypt and the breaking off of relations between the two countries. Tunisia, also an Arab Moslem country, did the same.

To forestall the latent threat of Khomeini-style subversion, the chief of the KGB, Viktor Tschernikov, made an inspection of the Afghanistan-Tajikistan border at the end of last April. According to an official Tass report, quoted on April 30 in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, he came to "review security problems following Mujahedin attacks on Tajikistan near the Afghan-USSR frontier."

The Kremlin is starting to play a new ball game, to meet the threat of fundamentalist terror from within and abroad. The danger is no longer confined to Afghanistan; it has spread to the Soviet Moslem as well.

The U.S. and its capitalist allies are still the Soviet Union's major rivals and Khomeini is not in their league. But they can be contained, as the past 40 years have shown. The fundamentalists cannot, because their fanaticism recognizes neither borders nor rules. The Soviets, past masters in the art of manipulating ideological sympathizers in foreign lands, know this as well as anybody. The difference is that they are beginning to act.

The Soviets have no precedent for dealing with this new threat. Their direct confrontation with fundamentalism in Afghanistan hardly crowned them in glory and, compared with Khomeini's Iran, the Afghans are but small fry.

Moreover, the Soviets' worries offer no consolation to either the West, or Japan, who are dependent on the oil from the Gulf states which are directly threatened by Tehran.

The West must blame itself for the Iranian threat. Since succumbing to the Germans in 1940, France made one of its gravest mistakes by first offering Khomeini asylum and then allowing him to return to Tehran to topple the shah and start pulling the strings of fundamentalism in an ever widening network.

France's faith in the political and economic promises it received from Khomeini in Paris was certainly misguided. Today the erstwhile political refugee is encouraging the kidnapping of Frenchmen along with other nationals in Beirut, and many French soldiers have lost their lives there. The West suffered its first serious military casualty of the Iran-Iraq War when a U.S. naval vessel was attacked by an Iraqi aircraft.

The Soviet Union has still another reason for being wary of Khomeini.

Iran has a territorial score to settle with the USSR, and after Khomeini recuperates from his bloody war, he will inevitably start eyeing the land the Tsars carved out of Iran a century ago. The security of these territories was one of the considerations which prompted Moscow to invade Afghanistan. But this has in effect brought the conflict with Tehran nearer its own borders.

Pentagon analysts were quoted in the world press earlier this year as estimating that the USSR has turned its southern region "facing Iran and Turkey," from a defensive position into a major offensive force. They estimated that the Soviets have concentrated 5,400 tanks, 5,600 artillery pieces, 1,000 first-line aircraft, 9,000 armoured personnel carriers, missiles and rockets and 384,000 men in the area.

On April 22, Tass and *Pravda* reported that "Islamic Extremists" of the Haze-Islam movement, attacked the Soviet Union from the Caucasus region, killing women and children. Special units of the Red Army were sent to the region to fight the Haze-Islam.

The Soviets, who as Marxists consider religion only an opium for the masses, were caught unprepared by the threat of religious fanaticism as was the rest of the world.

But they are now moving fast to meet it. As well they might. The military power in Tehran has been taken away from the army and is now in the hands of the revolutionary guards, ready and indeed eager to

threat much more lethal than the carefully controlled and safeguarded Western nuclear arsenal.

The latest turnaround of the Syrian dictator, Hafez el Assad, who after some tough talk in Moscow last month reportedly met Iraq's strong man Saddam Hussein - his own, and his ally Khomeini's arch enemy - indicate how far the Russians are willing to go to build a new Iron Curtain to keep Khomeini out. The international peace conference that Israel's foreign minister, Shimon Peres, is trying to put together, is undoubtedly being helped along by Arab countries who fear Khomeini's Iran. The Soviets have given strong encouragement to this goal.

Though the West has no sizeable Moslem populations with latent Islamic fervor that can be fanned by neighbouring manipulators, the West's interests in the Gulf are so tremendous that their defence must become paramount in Western thinking. Once Khomeini starts to move, it is hard to stop him, as Baghdad has learned to its cost.

This new thinking may well influence the arms and naval supply policies of the Western countries to the Gulf states and Saudi Arabia. The West can hardly abdicate its interests there to the Soviets.

Israel too fits into this equation. Khomeini makes no bones of his ultimate aim of "liberating" Jerusalem from the Jewish infidels. Fortunately for Israel, he will have to make his way to Jerusalem through a wall of Arab countries who, though sworn enemies of Israel today, have learned to fear Khomeini more than they hate Israel, as well they should.

Israel cannot call on the Shi'ites to rise up and support it. Khomeini can and does. Israel has no interests in Arab countries. Khomeini sees his interests elsewhere, Afghanistan, Beirut, Stockholm, the world.

The new situation offers an opportunity, or rather a historical necessity, for Israel and its neighbours to rise above their disputes and together develop a policy to foil Tehran's grand design.

Every responsible nation must pull its weight in stopping Khomeini before he starts playing with nuclear fire. The Lebanon, where Khomeini is already actively realizing his wild dreams, clearly spells out the danger inherent for the whole world. He cannot simply be shrugged off, as the Western democracies chose to shrug off Hitler in the 1930's. Then too, the Nazis' slogan "today Germany tomorrow the whole world" was not taken seriously, but the price the world paid for this omission still haunts us all.

One old man has almost single-handedly created a convergence of interests between the Soviets and the West, the Arabs and Israel. It is a remarkable feat, if a very negative one, and the more so as it is but a by-product of his *weltanschauung*, which sees the whole world as the hunting ground for Islamic fundamentalism. Its fanatic adherents are ready to fight this world, dominated as it is in their view by satans great and small, on the promise of thereby inheriting the next.

It will be a major historical disaster if the world fails to recognize and stand up to the threat which brings to mind conquerors of old. International priorities must be rearranged. The Soviets are making their first moves and this is perhaps an unprecedented opportunity for the two great powers to act in concert to meet a common danger.

The writing is on the wall. The Persians are preparing to take over the kingdom of the earth. Failure to read the message now will almost certainly exact a fearful price later.

The writer is a political correspondent in Israel.



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1232-1014

DESPITE deep personal and political differences our ruling troika - Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin - revealed their mutual jack-in-the-box qualities to the world, as they closed ranks, together with Rabin's predecessor, Minister-without-Portfolio Moshe Arens, in the face of criticism of the quarter's performance in the Pollard affair by the Knesset enquiry committee, chaired by Defence and Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Abba Eban.

Their almost instant adoption of the other report drafted by Dr. Yehoshua Rotenshtreich and Aluf (res.) Zvi Tsar made it seem as if they had confused the duo with their life insurance agents.

Eban should know that when it comes to the legislature's relations with the executive branch, the Knesset is not the U.S. Congress, nor is he an Israeli version of Senator John Tower (chairman of the Senate enquiry into Irangate). However, the "premiers' club" should beware how they treat Eban and his report, if only because of his enormous prestige in the U.S.

Yet for someone so zealous about our parliament's prerogatives, Eban opened himself up to criticism by an apparent rush to the media before letting fellow MKs properly study the material. While it could hardly have been Herut MK Ehud Olmert's intention, his private handling of the document's duplication added a farcical element to its presentation that could only help those seeking to discredit its recommendations. Perhaps he - like some of his other colleagues - was still suffering from the after-effects of being denied access to a phone for so many hours?

Next time CRM MK Yossi Sarid accuses Eban and other members of the intelligence subcommittee of not taking their control duties seriously - as he did this week in commenting on the Izat Nafsa case's implications - they can tell him that their enforced stay at the Ne'urim police facility gave them a taste of what the young Circassian endured, albeit under much more comfortable circumstances.

Eban enquiry member David Magen's forecast of a political earthquake not only brought to mind the passage "...this is the way the world ends/not with a bang but a whimper." The non-happening also perhaps explains the vehemence of Trade and Industry Minister Ariel Sharon's attacks on Peres. There's speculation whether Sharon, Magen's good pal, might not be creating a smokescreen to divert attention from his patronage of two currently rather unpopular exspooks - Rafi Eitan, whom he insulted as Israel Chemicals chairman, and Yossi Glimmer, whom he made Israel Exports Institute chairman.

Perhaps, he'll find an interesting export item in the new Circassian cheese line announced this week by Co-op chain head Benny Gao, who says the recipe comes from the Nafsu family dairy in Kfar Kama.

SO NOW, with the spectres of Jonathan and Ann Pollard languishing in prison safely in the background, our rulers can get on with politics as usual.

People on both sides of the party divide claim that Shamir's *broizger* with Peres originates in his invitation to a meeting with King Hussein in April. The Labour leader's penchant for holding his cards too close to his chest may have worked against him in this case.

While some see in Arens's speech this week ("this government is a barrier to settlement") a signal of Likud plans for a narrow coalition, Shamir's people say a clear indication of his intention of keeping the present coalition going is his planned three-country African visit on June 14.

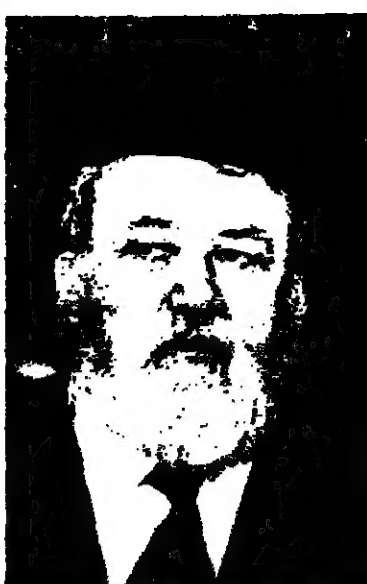
An advance team is flying out to the Cameroons, Liberia and Zaire, led by Shamir's military secretary Tat-Aluf Azriel Nevo and his media counsellor Avi Panner - an old Africa hand who served in our embassies there between 1967 and 1971.

THOSE close to Peres quote him as saying "I'll never forgive myself if I don't press ahead with the peace initiative," and mention the encouragement he gets from opinion polls. But he didn't get much comfort from the warm Likud welcome of Dr. Henry Kissinger's damning the international peace conference scheme, with MK Simha Dinitz said was due to "Henry's being out of the picture."

I'm told that when Dr. K. was in Jerusalem a year ago and told the Peres boys that "the time is not ripe" for such a scheme, he was asked: "Is

PUBLIC FACES/Mark Segal

The Pollard Quartet



Knesset member Avraham Shapira, and Tuvia Tsafir as Shapira.



it because Kissinger is out of office?" He replied: "Quite right. No one's good enough in the administration to carry it off."

PREMIER Shamir had a question-and-answer session with the Canadian National Defence College mission led by Brigadier-General Frank Norman. Just when one guest asked him: "What are you going to offer Hussein at the conference table?" he was obliged to dash off to the Knesset, with political advisor Arye Mekel in tow. For the swearing-in of Shas's Rabbi Yitzhak Peretz as a new-old minister.

Resuming the session with "You've just seen Israeli democracy in action," Shamir replied: "I would like Hussein to be in this room, in face-to-face negotiations. He'll listen to us and we'll listen to him. As to our offer, I'd prefer the king to be the first to hear."

THE REPORT of Peretz's insistence on spending all those thousands in public money on a 1987 Volvo and a refurbished office will disappoint all those who thought that Ra'anana's ex-chief rabbi preferred the blessings of the next world to those of this one. Incidentally, we're awaiting with great expectations for Friday night's Meni Pe'er TV show when comic Tuvia Tsafir is due to imitate Peretz and Agudat Israel MK Avraham Shapira performing "The Idiots' Song."

JUST BEFORE Prof. Amnon Rubinstein handed in the communications portfolio, he met Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev outside the cabinet meeting room. Bar-Lev asked him: "Are you leaving?" with the Shinui leader replying: "Are you staying?" That encouraged Economics and Planning Minister-Gad Ya'acobi to tell them the story about our third president, the late Zalman Shazar, a famous eulogizer in his time, who at one funeral said: "It's true the deceased is dead but his memory still lives on. He may have gone but is spirit will always re-



Shas's Rabbi Yitzhak Peretz... Tsafir will imitate him too on TV tonight.

main," bringing an old woman to cry out: "I don't get it. Let him decide, is he dead or alive?"

NOW THAT the Likud is pushing the candidacy of our man at the UN-Nehanyahu (Bibi) Netanyahu to succeed Arye Dultzin as Jewish Agency/WZO chairman, Labour is seeking a candidate with better chances than Agency Treasurer Akiva Leviinsky and Youth Aliya head Uri Gordon. When Peres approached Eban, he replied: "My answer is total, vehement, implacable and irreversible. In other words - no!" So no pressure is being applied on Ya'acobi, who's well-liked by agency governors, and his reported reply: "Only if I'm the agreed candidate."

AT FIRST, it was thought that Shamir and Peres were likely to agree on coordinator of policy in Lebanon Uri Lubraai as our next ambassador to the U.S., rather than Dayan Centre chairman Prof. Itamar Rabinovich. It's said Shamir decided against Rabinovich on discovering that he was much less the son of his Revisionist father, the late Ma'ariv

general manager Gutman Rabinovich, and rather more the nephew of his non-hawkish uncle, Jaffee Strategic Studies Centre head Aluf (res.) Aharon Yariv. Now, it appears that Shamir may be having second thoughts.

The professor was the centre of attention at the opening of the Tel Aviv University's Board of Governors annual meeting, with TAU executive council chairman Benno Gitter hosting a concert and reception at Tel Aviv Museum. TAU president Prof. Moshe Many was busy welcoming all the new honorary Ph.D.s., particularly South Korean tycoon Lyun Joon Kim and owner and president of Hangyang University, with which Many signed a joint research project agreement.

Tehiya leader, Prof. Yuval Ne'eman complained to me about Israel TV's "slanted reporting," because they ignore him and focus on fellow MK Geula (La Passionara) Cohen. His wife Dvora was overheard complaining to the mayor's wife, Ziva Lahat about the mosquito nuisance in Zahala, arguing: "After all, you know they're AIDS carriers." Someone said it's obvious she's the wife of a physicist, and not of an entomologist.

First lady Aura Herzog joined TAU Board chairman Sir Leslie Porter and his wife, Westminster City Council leader Lady Shirley Porter at the ceremony naming the Diaspora Museum main exhibition hall in honour of her mother, Lady Sara Cohen.

A buffet dinner was given on the museum terrace by TAU governor Yona Ettinger in honour of TAU U.S. Friends, like Stuart Colton, who have endowed its new Programme for Excellence, which TAU Rector, Prof. Yehuda Ben-Shaul told me will enable 35 bright youngsters to study for an honours degree.

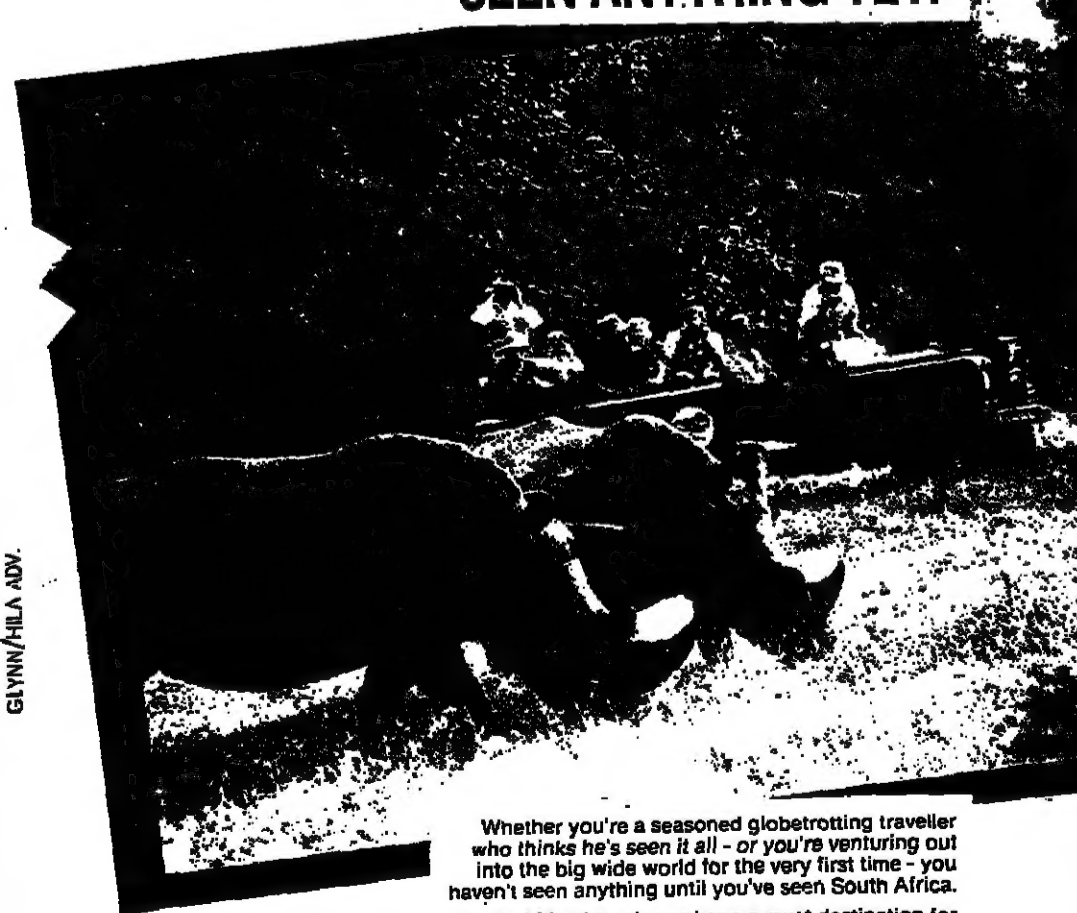
TAU Austrian Friends chairman Hella Gertner gave a dinner at the Tel Aviv Sheraton hotel in honour of Prince Casimir of Wittgenstein, a benefactor of the university and the Weizmann Institute, attended by such friends as Benyamini and Tamar Chorley, Zalman and Kena Shoval, Uriel and Ada Cegla and Avshalom Gisin.

After attending the TAU Board meeting, publisher Lord Wendenfeld of Chelsea went up to Jerusalem to celebrate the 76th birthday of his old friend, Mayor Teddy Kollek, which fell symbolically on the 20th anniversary of the capital's unification. He's talking to Teddy about another book, tentatively named "Walking in post-67 Jerusalem."

Council for a Beautiful Israel leaders like Esther Rubinfeld, Paula Moses, Dina Shavit, Zahava Dankner and Adina Gottsman were busy this week guiding overseas supporters like New York's Ruth Baum, Brussels' Estella Hades and Geneva's Vivienne Wohl around their projects. They saw how the council converts air-rail shelters into playgrounds in places like Yavne.

Ora Akiva council chairman Shalom Shabtai welcomed such a scheme in his township, announced during luncheon given in their honour at Esther Rubin home in Caesarea, where neighbours Bob and Rene Lewin agreed to finance the project. The council's international president Aura Herzog opened up Beit Hanassi to its annual prize-winning ceremony and held a luncheon in honour of the delegations.

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Eilat: 7:11 p.m. 8:16 p.m.

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Yeshurun Central Synagogue: Friday, Mincha 7:20 p.m. Shabbat: 8:00 a.m. 8:15 p.m. Maaz: 8:30 p.m. Cantor: Asher Hamoatz.
Jerusalem Great Synagogue: Friday, Mincha 7:25 p.m. Shabbat: 8:00 a.m. 8:15 p.m. Maaz: 8:30 p.m. Cantor: Asher Hamoatz.
World Council of Synagogues: Conservative: 4 Agon Friday, Mincha 8:00 a.m. Shabbat: 8:30 a.m. 8:45 p.m. Maaz: 8:50 p.m. Cantor: Asher Hamoatz.
Hebrew Union College: Jewish Institute of Religion (Reform): 13 King David St. Sat. 9:30 a.m. Information on college programmes, guided tour of campus. Service: 10 a.m.
Tel Aviv G.T. Synagogue, 110 Albany: Shabbat Services conducted by Cantor Nalish.

Jerusalem
REDEEMER CHURCH (Lutheran) Munster Rd. Old City, Jerusalem. Sunday Services: English: 9 a.m. German: 10:30 a.m. Tel. 35-443, 35-401.
CHRIST CHURCH (Anglican) off Citadel: 4-5 Family service: 7:00 p.m. Evening service: Bible study: Wednesday: 8:30 p.m.
BAPTIST CONGREGATION: 4 Narkis, West Jerusalem: Sunday services: 9 a.m. & 10:30 a.m. Worship: Tel. 229-42.
ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH OF SCOTLAND: near Railway Station. Sunday morning service: 10 a.m. Tel. 02-71-0659.
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Jerusalem Christian Assembly: Y.M.C.A. auditorium, 2n King David St., Tel. 232-0100, Sunday: 10 p.m.
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ART GUIDE

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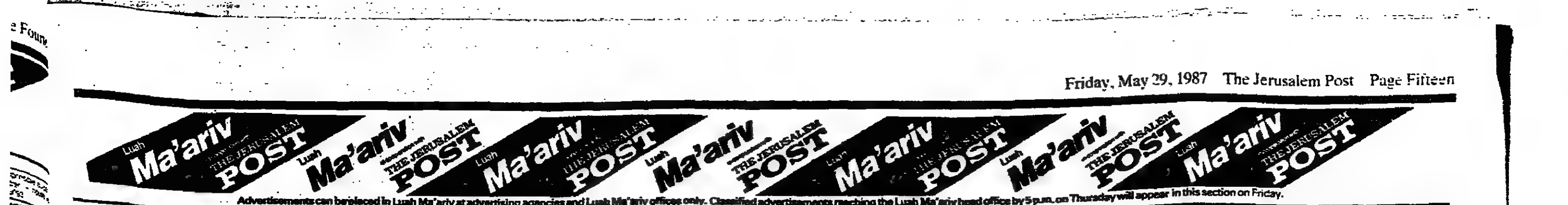
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Challenge of the wilderness

TORA TODAY/Pinhas H. Peli

BAMIDBAR - "In The Wilderness" - is the Jewish traditional name of the fourth book of the Bible. It is known also in earlier sources, as *sefer* (or *chumash*) *ha-pekudim*, meaning: "the book of the counted." This refers to the census described in its first chapter, hence, its name in non-Hebrew Bibles: The Book of Numbers.

Bamidbar - "in the wilderness" - which appears in the beginning of the book and which gave it its name, is not however a mere description of the geographic location where the word of the Lord came to Moses. Bamidbar - "in the wilderness" - does in fact represent an important, perhaps inevitable, stage in the long journey of the people of Israel from slavery to the Promised Land. The wilderness, far beyond its geographic or historic reality, enters the Jewish experience as an edifying phenomenon and spiritual symbol.

The special relationship, with all its ups and downs, that develops between God and Israel during the 40 years sojourn in the wilderness, sinks deep, deep down and becomes embedded in the Jewish consciousness forever. "Remember," says the Lord in the words of Jeremiah (2:2), "the devotion of your youth, how as a bride you loved me and followed me into the wilderness, through a land not sown."

And again, the same prophet, regarding the future: "The people that survived the sword have found grace in the wilderness" (Jer. 31:2). The wilderness, which usually refers in this context to the Sinai desert, is not only the place, remembered with nostalgic sentiments, where the early stages of the continuous "love affair" between God and his people transpired. It also stands out as a kind of "observation point," outside of civilization's space and time, from which we might gain a proper perspective on life and society. The same Jeremiah who knew so well to sing the praises of the wilderness as a place of grace and love, also calls out bitterly in his moment of distress: "Oh that I were in the wilderness, in a lodging-place of wayfaring men, that I might leave my people, and go from them" (Jer. 9:1).

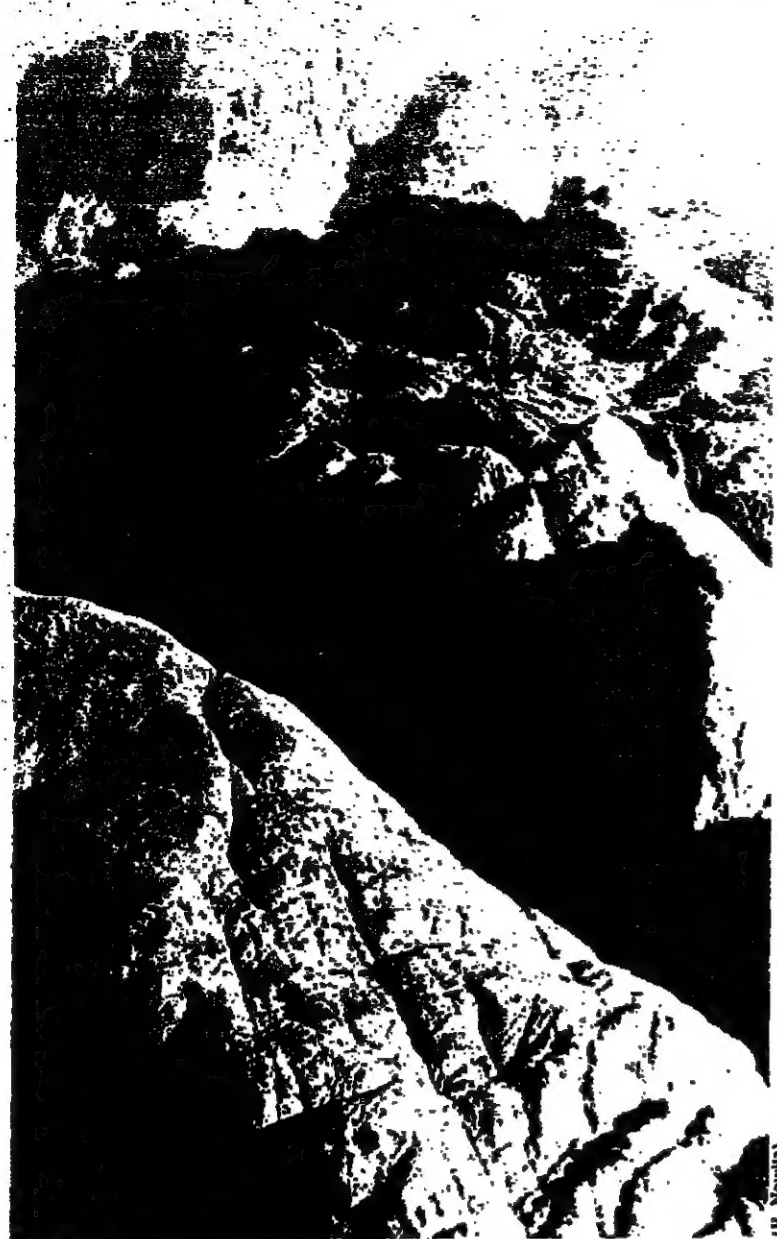
It was to the wilderness, to the deserts of the Negev or Judea, that people like the zealous prophet Elijah, the Essenes and other sectarians who wanted to either change the world or escape it, ran.

It was always there, waiting, lurking, challenging.

THE RABBINIC introduction of the *b'rakha*, the benediction formula, which functions as a daily religious response to everything that happens to us, does not exclude a meeting with the desert.

According to Halacha, on seeing the desert, one must recite the following *b'rakha*: "Blessed are you, our Lord, King of the universe, who wrought the works of creation." The awe-inspiring wilderness brings one face to face with the sublimity of the primordial, shoreless and menacing elements of creation.

From there, it is but a short distance to Tora and the way it was glorified as an apotheosis spun by the rabbis. They saw Tora itself as one of the primordial elements of creation. In one famous Midrash,



wilderness is mentioned along with fire and water as accompanying the giving of the Tora by God to Israel.

The Midrash appears in Numbers Rabba (1:7, Soncino edition, p. 12). It comments on the verse: "And the Lord spoke unto Moses in the wilderness of Sinai (Numbers 1:1). Why is the wilderness of Sinai emphasized? Our sages have inferred from this that the Tora was given to the accompaniment of three things, fire, water and wilderness.

"Fire," whence is this derived? From the text: "Now Mount Sinai was altogether on smoke, because the Lord descended on it in fire" (Exodus 19:18). And "water"; whence is this derived? For it is said: "The heavens also dropped, yes, the clouds dropped water" (Judges 5:4). And "wilderness"; whence is this derived? From the text: "And the

Lord spoke unto Moses in the wilderness of Sinai."

Into this ancient homily which conveys a certain idea of Tora as one of the main elements of creation, we read further midrashic interpretations by rabbis of later generations (see i.e. Rabbi Nissan Telushkin in his book *Hatorah ve-haolam*, "The Torah and the World", New York 1957).

Accordingly, the above Midrash comes to tell us not only that Tora was given with fire, water and wilderness, but also that we must "receive" it the same way. How so?

FIRE: Tora cannot be acquired without readiness to "jump into the fire"

for its sake. Abraham our Father was the first martyr who was thrown into the burning furnace for the sake of his faith. Many thousands of his descendants shared the same fate over many generations. How true then is the statement that Tora and unconditional loyalty to it, were given with "fire."

WATER: Tora can be acquired only by those who are prepared to jump for its sake into the storming waters. Nahshon the son of Aminadav, who was the first to venture into the waters of the sea even before it split for the Israelites, may serve as the enduring example for those who work faithfully for the cause of Tora, who brave the tides of reality and pioneer against all odds in breaking new ground for the learning and teaching of Tora.

WILDERNESS: Many are the lessons that we learn from the fact that the Tora was given in the desert. There is no private ownership in the desert. Tora too is available to all. No one holds title to it, nor can anyone claim to possess a monopoly on its study or observance.

The wilderness gives one a feeling of being alone, abandoned. The desert offers no highways, no trodden paths, no five-star hotels, no comfortable living conditions, no television or telephone. It is an experience of being cut-off from the rest of the world. Likewise, one who wishes to give his life to the study of Tora, must be prepared to face loneliness, abandonment, and being deprived of comforts and communication with the outside world.

The wilderness requires unlimited patience, ingenuity, constant inventiveness; it offers freedom, pristine purity, ever-new beginnings. The same is true of Tora.

ABOVE ALL: the wilderness presents a constant challenge. If humans do not conquer the desert and learn to live in harmony with it, the desert will eventually conquer and subdue them. This is true both of physical as well as spiritual arid deserts.

"The fact is," says one of the world's leading desert researchers, Professor Yehuda Gradus of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, "that approximately one third of the world's land mass is arid desert. It may be congenial for the camel and the cactus, but not for people. Nevertheless, well over half a billion people, or 15 per cent of the world's population, live in arid desert areas."

The fourth book of Tora puts us, together with the Israelites of old, *de-midbar*, right in the middle of the desert. It reminds us of the arid deserts which are indeed a challenge to all of humanity. Recent outbreaks of drought and starvation in Africa sounded the alarm of this challenge. Israel of old faced it three millennium ago, as does modern Israel again, today.

The Tora portion read this week is *Bamidbar* (Numbers 1:1-4:20). Rabbi Peli is the Blechman Professor of Jewish thought and literature, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

TELEREVIEW/Philip Gillon

Eban as troublemaker

IT HAS been a very quiet week, news-wise, if I may use the jargon beloved by public relations consultants. There was no really shocking incidents and only two affairs - and these were only offshoots of previous affairs. In fact, on further reflection, I don't think we can dignify the Supreme Court judgement in the Nafsu case and the Abba Eban report with capital A's as Affairs in their own right - they are merely continuations of the Shin Bet and Pollard affairs.

Personally, I am filled with admiration for MK Abba Eban. His placing of principle above the interests of his party and its leader reminds of the Soviet story about Krushchev's reforms. The Soviet Leader sent speakers all over the country to tell the people that democracy, including freedom of speech, had come to the land, since Stalin the tyrant was dead.

In some remote town, a listener requested permission to ask a question, which the speaker readily gave. "If things are so good, why are they so bad?" The speaker thought for a few minutes, then said, "That's a very good question, and I'm very pleased you asked it. I'll have to go back to Moscow to ask the Politburo the answer. What's your name?" I'll be back in six months and I'll have the answer for you." The questioner said his name was Goldstein.

Six months later, the speaker came back to the town, belittled his speech, and asked for questions. Somebody piped up anonymously - from the crowd, "Where's Goldstein?"

Labour party leader Shimon Peres took the report so well and so sportingly that I suspect he'll soon be asking "Where's Abba?"

Of course, if we had a king, we would automatically have a House of Lords, where troublemakers are sent. Peres should make a note of that interesting possibility.

AS THE week was so free of important events, we could enjoy the programmes for Jerusalem Day with quiet consciences. And very good they were too. There was first some lovely singing and music from the programme at the Sultan's Pool, telecast live, followed by very soothing singing by Sarale Sharon. Then came those very interesting interviews with Jews and Arabs about what it was like to live in divided Jerusalem before 1967, and how they feel now.

Pride of place must go to Prof. Sami Nusseibeh, of Bir Zeit University. Like his father Anwar before him, he was very suave, courteous, urbane, reasonable, and extremely interesting.

His description of life as a boy in the Nusseibeh home, adjoining No Man's Land came as something of a shock, because he said that the family never thought about what was happening in Israel, only a few metres away. I felt neglected. His parents talked only about the past, pre-1948, never about the present or the future. They did discuss the Palestinian problem, but not in terms of people. He had a vague impression that all Jews were like the handful of religious Jews - he added slyly, "What you people call black Jews" - of whom he caught glimpses on the other side of No Man's Land.

After the reunification, he used to walk across No Man's Land over and over again, stopping in the middle of it and thinking about how strange it had all been. Jerusalem and the people who loved the city, he said, would outlive governments and politicians.

From the other side, Eli Amir, born in Baghdad, who came to Israel with Youth Aliya in 1956 and is now Youth Aliya's director-general, recalled how he used to try to see what was going on in the Old City from a window in Yemin Moshe. Some of us went to the top of Notre Dame or YMCA to peep over the wall. But, basically, the overwhelming majority accepted the dividing wall as a fact of life - we never wondered why Mamilla Road ended in a wall.

Then came Naomi Shemer with her perfectly timed song, just before Nasser launched his war against us, and King Hussein joined him so stupidly, and we convinced ourselves that we had been longing passionately for the Old City and the road to Jericho.

A veteran Jerusalemite, Yosef Nahmias, insisted that since the Twenties there had been no close personal relations between Jews and Arabs outside work, and he did not see any signs of their coming into existence now. He is probably right, both about the old days and the present.

Many of us tried to establish friendships with Arabs in 1967, but these eventually perished on the vine. But does it matter? Nobody suggests that we have to love each other, only that we have to stop killing and injuring each other, and should find some way to live together in mutual respect.

Eli Amir made friends with an Arab, who, like Professor Nusseibeh, knew nothing about Israel and the Jews. Amir took him a lot of books about these subjects. After reading the books, the Arab wondered how Amir and his fellow Sephardis could live in a land where they were so mercilessly persecuted by the Ashkenazim. Generally, all the Arabs interviewed were obviously baffled and bewildered by the wars of the Jews, and had not the slightest desire to get involved in them. They may be right, at that.

Sammy Nahmias has several Arab friends. He helped the Arabs from the village adjoining East Talpiot in their fight for their olive grove, which was slated to be destroyed for some ridiculous planning reason.

I have got toughened by life, and have come to accept that Jews and Arabs kill each other. I don't say that I approve - I don't - but I get less and less surprised by the killings as time goes on. But perhaps because I absorbed a love of the Keren Kayemet with my mother's milk, I was profoundly shocked by the idea of Jews destroying 400-year-old olive trees for the sake of a plan.



Amos Oz... harsh words for left-wing liberals. (Lisa Pleskowi)

Another of those sardonic jokes played on us stupid idealists by someone at the top.

PRESIDENT Chaim Herzog was an ideal choice as the first president to be interviewed on Ehad Manor's new programme, *Personal Appearance*, in which the subjects are asked to go through their memories, picking the things that pleased or affected them most.

The president has had such a varied career that, as Manor said, it was impossible to do a really comprehensive show about him. I was delighted with two of his choices: Max Baer, wearing a shield of David emblem on his pants, knocking out Primo Camera, from Mussolini's Italy, to become the first Jewish world heavyweight champion.

(There is some question about whether Baer was a Jew according to the standards of Rabbi Peretz, but young Herzog, despite being the son of a chief rabbi, could hardly be expected to raise halachic doubts about his hero.)

As his favourite scene from a film, he chose the machine feeding Charlie Chaplin in *Modern Times*, which is surely the funniest movie ever made. And I liked his choice of best sports item - Nussimach scoring against the USSR at Ramat Gan in the mid-Fifties.

AUTHOR Amos Oz, on the other hand, savaged the left-wing liberals of Tel Aviv mercilessly when he appeared on *This is the Time*. He accused them of living in a ghetto on the banks of the Yarkon, where they assume that all the rest of the world is against them. Jerusalem, in particular, they believe is lost to their enemies - the *haredim* in a diabolical alliance with the fans of Betar Jerusalem. According to Oz, there are in reality great liberal resources in the capital. He urged his left-wing friends to form alliances with the emerging educated Sephardi bourgeoisie. It sounded very correct to me.

ORGAN transplants - specifically the difficulty of getting the hearts and livers of young people killed in accidents for transfers to people in desperate need of them - was the subject of *Entrance Fee*.

Families refuse to give their consent to such transfers, either because of religion or due to other reasons. We heard from one lovely young woman, waiting desperately for a transfer, what extra years of living would mean to her, and how grateful she would be to the unknown donor for the gift of life. She was very moving.

Why families should prefer the organs of people they loved to rot away and be eaten by maggots to having them used to bestow happy and healthy lives to recipients I do not understand. I believe that it has something to do with the rising of the dead when the Messiah comes. Presumably they will not rise in the shapes that their bodies have then reached, but as they were when they were young and strong. Surely, when they rise, it is not beyond the wit of the organizers to provide them with replacement organs.

The Ben-Dor family of Petah Tikva, whose son died for lack of a donor, has compiled a list of 200,000 volunteers who have pledged to donate their organs in the event of their death. The doctors present and Health Minister Shoshana Arbeli-Almosino appeared to dismiss this list as valueless, but did not explain why they did so.

Let us hope that this excellent programme leads to a solution of the problem.

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Daniel Doron (Y. Zaken/Media)

Turning right

Pinhas Landau investigates Israel's economic shift to the right and the man at its forefront, Daniel Doron from the Israel Centre for Social and Economic Progress.

SOME PEOPLE think it's the best thing that could happen to the country, while others term it an unmitigated disaster. But almost everyone is agreed that in terms of economic thinking, and perhaps even of practice, Israel is moving to the right.

Fortune magazine, focusing on the Israeli economy earlier this year, proclaimed that "Israel's right turn is working," and found that we were "trying some Reaganomics" because "the costs of a European-style welfare state...drove the country close to economic disaster."

Many would still argue with that kind of assessment, but many more Israelis would agree with it today than would have done so a few years ago. The number of people who would wholeheartedly disagree has certainly shrunk.

At the forefront of the rightward move is 58-year-old Daniel Doron and his three-year-old Israel Centre for Social and Economic Progress. The centre (ICSEP for short) is the first bona fide American-style think tank in the country, and even Doron himself is surprised by the speed and extent which the ideas the centre propounds have been absorbed into the body economic, and - more slowly - into the body politic.

These ideas are well-enough known now in the U.S., Britain, France and a growing number of nations in all corners of the globe. They centre on the perception that government intervention in economic processes is fundamentally undesirable, and that the more intervention there is and the longer it goes on, the more debilitated the economy will become. In this view, the market mechanism is more reliable and more efficient than government-introduced "planning" and "direction," because these create distortions and often end up leading to the opposite result from that intended.

When The Jerusalem Post first focused on Doron and the ICSEP, in June 1985, this programme still seemed remote, even dangerous, certainly un-Israeli. While noting

that Doron and his local and foreign allies were "out to change the system," we suggested that this was likely to be a long-term undertaking. At that time, Doron stressed that the emphasis of the centre had to be on educational activities, challenging accepted ideas and promoting alternative ones, to spur people to seek radical change to the major problems of the Israeli economy and society.

It will come as no surprise to Milton Friedman fans that the champion of free-market thought understood more clearly than anyone else how his ideas could achieve acceptance. In a letter to Doron in 1984, Friedman noted that intellectual change usually preceded policy change by many years. Thus, in the U.S., "proponents of a free-market approach began winning the intellectual battle in the '50s and '60s; by the '70s, there was a distinct change in public opinion," and this was translated into policy by Reagan in the 1980s. The same pattern occurred in Britain.

Therefore, Friedman urged Doron to be ready for a long campaign. But - and here is the nub - "I believe the lag might be shorter in Israel than elsewhere, simply because the problems are more serious and their cause more obvious."

It was and they were. If anything, this prediction was slightly pessimistic, because the change in approach, most notably in the Labour party in the last two to three years, has been dramatic. Within the Likud, too, statisticism is in decline and free-enterprise supporters are gaining ground. In both cases, it seems likely that the splits with Mapam and Tehiya respectively helped the opposite side along, since the otherwise opposite ideologies of those small parties nevertheless meet on the issue of the supremacy of the state in economic policy.

DORON'S ICSEP has therefore been able to establish itself and its ideas much more quickly than expected. Instead of laboriously in-

itiating the debate, Doron has found himself able to lead it, and his forums and seminars have become an accepted part of the landscape in many areas of social and economic policy. They are well-attended, increasingly drawing ministers, senior civil servants and experts from the government, Histadrut and the private sectors. And they receive consistent coverage in the press.

Doron himself characterizes this role as "pace-setting." He attacks a subject, promoting an idea or a new approach by inviting foreign experts to lecture in Israel and meet people in and out of government, or by getting an Israeli to prepare a research paper on the issue under discussion.

Subsequently, major Israeli academic research institutes like the Falk Institute in the Hebrew University or the Sapir Institute in Tel Aviv, focus their greater resources in terms of people, time and money, on the same issue, broadening as well as continuing the debate.

The centre and its activities have also served as catalysts in the process of moving discussion and policy toward a free-market orientation. Despite the small size of the country, communication among academic, government and business sectors is limited, sometimes non-existent. The seminars have brought together not just ideas but people, and helped like-minded persons get to know each other, as well as their intellectual opponents.

But it goes further than that. As noted, a few years ago, free-marketiers were regarded as radicals, and especially in universities they often kept their true beliefs to themselves. There were, therefore, a large number of "closet free-marketiers," while others were simply suppressed. By coming out and boldly trumpeting ideas about deregulation, privatization, and of course the need for lower taxes and an end to planning and state subsidies, Doron and his supporters legitimize and give coherence to

what had previously been inchoate rumblings.

AS THE centre became more established and "respectable," with growing contacts with and input from all branches of government. The ICSEP also managed to defuse part of the confrontational aspect of clashing ideologies, by encouraging people with differing views to come together and hear each other. Thus, at a recent forum on health services, ex-minister of health Motta Gur said that "I disagree with what the centre stands for, but I'm in favour of exchanging ideas."

This process of gaining respectability is being taken considerably further with the holding of a major, weekend-long conference in Haifa today and tomorrow. The subject will be the "Relationship between Economic and Political Freedom," thereby focusing on one of the basic tenets of free-market ideology, namely that in the long term, political freedom cannot survive without economic freedom. If the latter is impaired by the incursions of governments pursuing their own aims - i.e., politicians looking to remain in power and bureaucrats seeking to extend their domains - then the former will also be gradually undermined.

In the Israeli context, Doron sees this as leading to greater extension in all the areas of tension within the country, as rivalry between Arab and Jew, religious and secular, Sephardi and Ashkenazi, comes to focus on competition over resources which are in the hands of the government and which are therefore controlled by politicians through the political process.

Key speakers at the conference will be a group of specially invited Americans from various fields, including former presidential adviser Robert Goldwin, currently at the American Enterprise Institute, Irving Kristol, the leading "neo-conservative" thinker who has been a long-time supporter of Doron and his centre, Judge Richard Posner, a pathfinder in the field of economic analysis of law, and Paul Bator, professor of law at Chicago, and formerly at Harvard.

The numerous Israeli invitees include a broad cross-section of the country's top academics, civil servants, judges, writers and journalists, some of whom may be expected to cross swords with the visitors both in the formal debates and informal discussions. If the intellectual activity generates thought and, down the road, stimulates new approaches to Israel's old, festering problems, Doron will be able to chalk up his biggest success yet.

He believes that all jobs are essentially temporary, and that it is time for him to move on. Certainly, now is as good a time as he is likely to find as, he noted, the best time to go is in the summer, before planning for the next budget gets underway in earnest. But he is not yet ready to review his period at the heart of the Israeli economic process, although he reluctantly agreed to be interviewed again on the hard life and interesting times of a budget director before he clears his desk.

THE BIGGEST trespasser into bank secrecy is Internal Revenue. I spoke with Ya'ir Rabinovich, Commissioner of Income Tax. "The tax law entitles me to approach any business undertaking for material about people who have dealings with them," he said. "The term business undertakings includes banks."

What do the banks feel about that? Asher Halprin: "They have to make sure that the inquiry concerns a genuine suspect. If the tax people are just fishing for information, it is not their business to cooperate."

Rabinovich realises how sensitive the subject is: "We only pry into bank accounts when a case of tax fraud is being investigated, or when we have reason to examine a certain dubious economic sector in depth. Our authority to demand a look at a person's private life may be exercised a dozen times a year, that's all."

The rules are very strict, he stresses. "We have to get permission from the finance minister himself before we can approach the bank. It is rumoured that the Treasury wants to link up its computer system to that of the banks. 'There is no truth in that,' he says. 'What he would like is something else: that the banks computerize their own information on

the basis of each individual's identity-card number. If the tax authorities want to know how many accounts a certain taxpayer has in different branches of a certain bank and where they are located, it is no good asking the bank's head office, it cannot tell them. The reason is not that they are super-discreet, they simply do not know. (The one exception is said to be Bank Mizrahi, which is better informed than the others about its internal affairs.)"

Why would the tax people need such centralized information? Rabinovich: "Should we want our bailiffs to put a lien on a man's accounts at the bank, we cannot do it without knowing where he holds his money. We'll know about the account that we deal with, but not about his other ones. The banks should make it their business to have that information."

Material passed by the banks to the tax office goes no further. Rabinovich: "Should anybody in our department pass any of this confidential documentation to a person not specifically authorized by the Finance Minister to receive it or not in accordance with statute, he can be jailed for six months."

"If the police or even the General Security Service demand this kind of information from us, we do not give it unless required to do so by the Finance Minister, and he will only authorize it in special cases."

"We ourselves are entitled to extract information about people's earnings, bills, payments, etc. from other government departments. We can find out from the Transport Ministry about a person's car purchases, from the Lands Administration about his property transactions, from the Border Police about his foreign travel. All this helps to check what his total income is likely to be."

In other words if he buys an Audi 80, owns a shopping cart and travels to a ski resort in Switzerland, there are grounds for suspecting that in declaring an income of \$1,000 a month he is not telling the whole story.

Profile of Aharon Fogel

Pessimistic preference

Pinhas Landau/Post Economic Correspondent

"THE UPCOMING pay negotiations are effectively inflation negotiations. The higher the pay rise that the Histadrut achieves in the national pay talks, the higher inflation will be as a result."

This is how Aharon Fogel, the Treasury budget director, views the upcoming wage negotiations which are finally getting under way. Like most other people involved in the national economy, whether as policy makers or observers, he views these negotiations as the most important event of the next several months.

As usual, Fogel is expecting the worst - namely a settlement that gives an across-the-board pay rise to all workers, and sets the scene for follow-up rises at the industry and plant levels. The best-case scenario, and one which still has some chance of realization, since Finance Minister Moshe Nissim has been pushing it and Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar has not rejected it out of hand, is for net take-home pay to increase through adjustments to tax brackets, while gross pay levels remain unchanged.

Fogel prefers to be pessimistic, because in his job it makes more sense to plan for the worst. If things come out better than expected, that's all for the good. Only if things go wildly right, like last year when the Treasury found itself with a much bigger budget surplus than it had dreamed of, can too much success spell trouble.

Pessimism of this sort has probably had something to do with Fogel's own success in what is one of the toughest jobs in the country. Recently, he announced that he intended to quit in the summer, after heading the budget division since the beginning of 1984, and presenting and executing four budgets.

In that time, the budget situation has changed out of all recognition. From a deficit of some 15 percent of Israel's total GNP, or approximately \$3 billion, he has guided the budget to last year's achievement of a huge operating surplus and, after debt repayments, a rough balance. Although the present and previous finance ministers, Treasury Director-General Emmanuel Sharon and others also had a role in this achievement, Fogel and his staff were the ones who fought in the trenches to win the victory.

He believes that all jobs are essentially temporary, and that it is time for him to move on. Certainly, now is as good a time as he is likely to find as, he noted, the best time to go is in the summer, before planning for the next budget gets underway in earnest. But he is not yet ready to review his period at the heart of the Israeli economic process, although he reluctantly agreed to be interviewed again on the hard life and interesting times of a budget director before he clears his desk.

FOR THE MOMENT, he is still in the thick of it - as his secretary demonstrated by frequently interrupting to try and fix appointments with ministers and others competing for time in Fogel's hectic schedule. His attitude to the wage talks, quoted above, is typical of his blunt style; he avoids rhetoric to the point where a spade can only be called a spade, not a digging implement, an agricultural tool or anything else.

He sees higher wages as translating directly into inflation because the negotiations, particularly at the national level, do not focus on productivity at all. They therefore represent increases in wage costs. These higher costs will push up the cost of goods and services throughout the economy, while higher real wages will spur demand, for both local and foreign products.

He pinpoints higher wages achieved last year as a major factor in the consumer boom that developed and is still going strong, although he grants there were other factors involved as well. The latest figures suggest, by the way, that consumer spending has cooled off over the past few weeks, but it is too early to know if this marks a change of trend or just a breathing-space. In any event, Fogel believes that if there are wage rises this year, not tied to commitments to productivity increases, they will perpetuate the cycle, and keep inflation higher than it need otherwise be.

Wage hikes will also continue to be reflected in rising imports. The epicure of the consumption binge has been the surge in imports of consumer durables, although much of the rise in imports has been due to the generally higher level of economic activity, and there has also been an increase in imports of investment goods.

But - and here Fogel's break with traditional Israeli economic policy-making shows through clearly - the answer to higher imports is neither a devaluation nor higher import taxes. A devaluation is only of use if relative prices get noticeably out of line, and then the longer it is delayed the more inevitable it becomes and the bigger it will have to be. That was the case in late 1986, and the January 1987 devaluation came to correct the distortions that the wage rises of 1986 had introduced.

If local wages and prices again rise too quickly, and exporters' profitability is impaired while imports become very cheap, then another corrective devaluation will become necessary. Such, however, is far from the case at the moment, because the main effect of January's move has been preserved through the accompanying agreements to defer part of the cost-of-living increase and to reduce National Insurance dues.

All this, however, has nothing to do with the trade gap per se, according to the budget director. Imports are being pushed up by demand, and this suggests that the sources of that demand have to be cut or restrained, not that imports have to be made more expensive by altering the exchange rate. Taxation could do the job, but Fogel is strongly opposed to any new or higher taxes. There are too many taxes and their rates are too high already, he points out.

Furthermore, if there was a devaluation, or the imposition of new import taxes of any sort, the public would conclude that those who had bought in good time had been rewarded, and spending would actually increase in the long run. People would again conclude that those who believed the government's promises had been proven suckers, and the disbelievers had come out ahead as usual.

In fact, Fogel suggested, "there may be a case to proceed with gradual reductions in import taxes,

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In fact, Fogel suggested, "there may be a case to proceed with gradual reductions in import taxes,

Rabinovich cautions however: "We are recipients of intelligence, but we do not donors of it. The material we collect goes no further." The police has as hard a job getting past the revenue officer as it has getting past the bank manager, he implies.

I PERSIST. What - I ask BM - if a wife wants to know how much money her husband has? "If it is not a joint account we cannot tell her. If he himself rings to ask about his account, we won't tell him unless we know for certain that the voice speaking to us is that of the client and not of someone else."

"This often causes friction and bad temper. Instead of congratulating us on our discretion, people accuse us of excessive pedantry."

"The bankomist is a great help in these situations. We urge people to use it. They can find out what they want to know by inserting their card



Aharon Fogel: "expecting the worst."

making sure these were publicized well in advance and executed according to a clear programme, and ensuring that budget revenues would not suffer as a result. That way, people would become convinced that there was an incentive to defer purchases, not to bring them forward."

HOW THEN should the growing trade gap be narrowed? Fogel advocates holding real wages in place, except where productivity gains justify increases. And (no surprise here) by reducing government expenditure and thereby cutting overall demand.

That way, imports would fall and the slackening of local demand would encourage firms to turn to the export market to make up for weaker local sales. It is still a radical programme, since the knee-jerk response to trade imbalances is to fire off a salvo of import taxes, give out hefty export subsidies, toss in a devaluation and sit back and wait for results.

Gradually, more people are coming to realize that these well-worn methods are at best short-term panaceas, and that in fact they may not work at all any more. As Fogel points out, "even when the cost-of-living adjustment is fixed at 70 per cent of the rate of inflation, our wages will go up in real terms, because of the way the system is built." This is a timely-veiled hint that, ultimately, the whole approach to wage bargaining will have to change. Possibly the main focus should switch to plant-level or industry-level negotiations. Certainly, productivity should be a key factor.

But when is "ultimately?" It seems to be very far off. But then, just two years ago, a budget surplus seemed to be a vain hope. The apparently inconceivable happens quickly when everyone concerned understands that there is no effective choice. Whether the Histadrut has reached the realization that national wage negotiations are counterproductive in a low-inflationary environment will soon become clear, and on that will hinge the trend of the economy for the rest of this year.

and punching out their number. Any bankomat in the country can be tapped for information, not just those belonging to his particular bank.

People wanting to find out about each other's affairs can do it in other ways, BM points out. "Anybody interested in a firm's creditworthiness can apply to the Registrar of Companies, where he can find out whether any of the properties of the firm in question are mortgaged and to what sum. That is available to the public; but we are not so open."

Nor can the banks tell a lie, even at the client's request. "Once a person doing business with us asked me to give a flattering report of his financial situation to another bank. 'If you do that,' he said, 'they will give me a loan - and then I'll be able to pay back the money I owe you.' BM found that hugely funny. 'It didn't wash, I'm afraid,' he chortled.

URGENT APPEAL FOR HELP

A yeshiva student's family of 9 souls has been left homeless after their home and all its contents were destroyed by fire.

We appeal to all those who can to help the family, which is urgently in need of clothing, household articles and basic furnishings.

Money for this purpose should be sent to the following rabbis, and should be marked "For the committee for the family's rehabilitation."

1. Harav Hagoon Yosef Miletski, Shalita, 18 Rehov Zefania, Jerusalem.
2. Harav Hagoon Moshe Ellashiv, Shalita, 19 Rehov Yishayahu, Jerusalem.
3. Harav Hagoon A. Simha Hacohen Kaplan, Chief Rabbi of Safed.
4. Harav Hagoon Menahem Zvi Berlin, Shalita, 22 Rehov Harav Zonnenfeld, Ramat Ehanan, Bnei Brak.
5. Harav Hagoon Yehuda Boyer, Shalita, 5 Rehov Rashbam, Bnei Brak.
6. Harav Hagoon Moshe Mordechai Shulzinger, Shalita, 18 Rehov Hashla'ah, Zichron Meir, Bnei Brak.

Contributions may also be sent to any bank for Bank Hapoalim account 533-26377, Mea Shearim branch.

The banks are keeping mum

David Krivine

Suppose a man dies and his heirs do not know that he has a bank deposit because he did not will it to them. Should not the bank contact them and give them access to the file?

A common subject of speculation is credit-worthiness, and sometimes for understandable reasons. A shop sells a lot of goods to someone who pays with a big cheque. They do not know who he is and wonder whether his cheque has cover. Will it bounce? It would be natural to ask his bank. What is their answer?

I consulted a Jerusalem bank manager, who also chose to remain anonymous, so I shall call him BM.

BM: "Our answer is: no answer. The information is not ours to give. The only people who can make an inquiry and get a reply are other banks. Even they have to go through their own Information Department at head office, which contacts the Information Department at our head office, which contacts us."

"And then the only statement we shall release is: 'The cheque has (or does not have) cover.' We will not say now much money the man has in his account, that is not their business."

According to LS, banks in America go further, but not much further. They will mumble something vague, like: 'Oh yes, your client is in credit with us for a sum of four figures (or five figures or whatever). They will not be more specific than that.'

Who else is allowed to probe? The Bank of Israel, which numbers among its staff an Inspector of

Banks. He (or in this case she: Galia Ma'or) has to supervise the operations of the banks, so she cannot help being privy to information. But the law is firm on this point. Bodies entitled to receive information must treat it as strictly confidential and may not reveal it to unauthorized persons.

This is an important point. LS goes on: "Information must not be released unless there is a statutory or moral obligation to do so. If the Finance Ministry wants material from us about a bank, we do not give it - unless it is public knowledge anyway." The point is to treat all data as confidential never mind who asks for it, unless there is an overriding necessity.

The problem is where to draw the line. LS again: "Let us say the police are studying allegations not against an individual, but against a bank. It is accused of deceiving a client by paying him the wrong interest rate. The Bank of Israel will help the police."

"But the investigator goes further. He wants to examine the private accounts of a number of clients who have not complained, to compare the interest they got with the interest paid to the plaintiff. Our decision would be that such an intrusion is not justified."

"Or the approach may come from the state comptroller in his capacity as ombudsman. Should he be given access to facts which are supposed to

be under lock and key? He is not an official crime investigator. It is hard to decide."

The banks prefer to err on the side of reticence. The central bank again: "Even if the police contact us over a subject we think should be kept secret, we cannot respond unless authorized to do so by the governor of our bank in person."

"If the matter is highly secret, he may ask for a *T'udat Hissayon* or certificate of confidentiality from the finance minister. Should the police apply for a court order, the judge will take this document into consideration before deciding whether to yield."

THE BIGGEST trespasser into bank secrecy is Internal Revenue. I spoke with Ya'ir Rabinovich, Commissioner of Income Tax. "The tax law entitles me to approach any business undertaking for material about people who have dealings with them," he said. "The term business undertakings includes banks."

What do the banks feel about that? Asher Halprin: "They have to make sure that the inquiry concerns a genuine suspect. If the tax people are just fishing for information, it is not their business to cooperate."

Rabinovich realises how sensitive the subject is: "We only pry into bank accounts when a case of tax fraud is being investigated, or when we have reason to examine a certain dubious economic sector in depth. Our authority to demand a look at a person's private life may be exercised a dozen times a year, that's all."

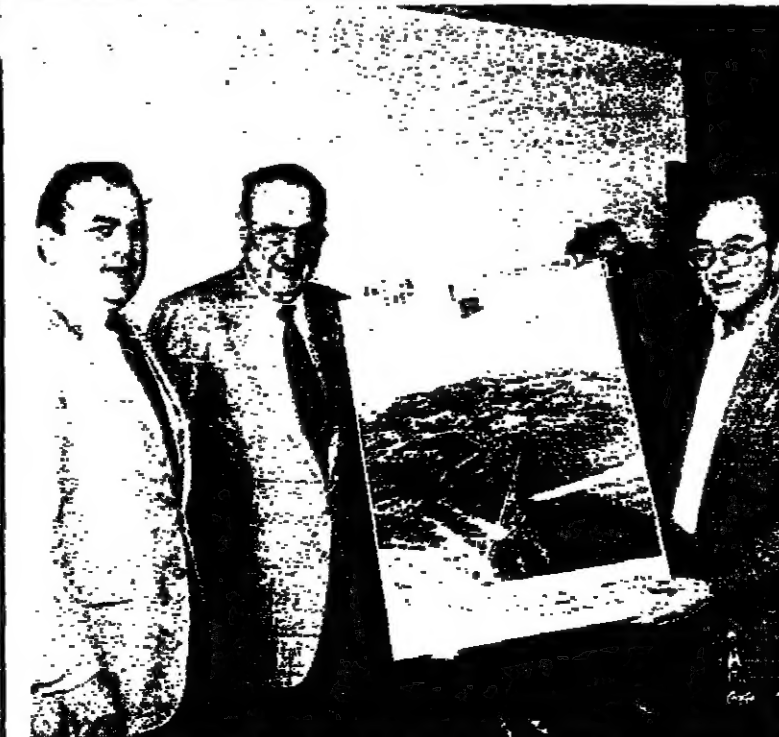
The rules are very strict, he stresses. "We have to get permission from the finance minister himself before we can approach the bank. It is rumoured that the Treasury wants to link up its computer system to that of the banks. 'There is no truth in that,' he says. 'What he would like is something else: that the banks computerize their own information on

To our dear managing director

Mr. IZZY ROSENFELD

heartiest congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of your nomination for honorary consul of Belgium

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Morry Weiss (left) and Irving L. Stone (centre) of American Greedings, Inc., Cleveland, Ohio, are honoured by Minister without Portfolio Meir Aron in the Knesset on the 18th anniversary of Kiryat Telche Stone. (Richard Novitz)

הכנתם האהבה

MARKET PLACE

PINHAS LANDAU

Under control

Every so often the bureaucrats remind you of the kind of system you live in. Yesterday the Bank of Israel issued an announcement as opaque as cotton wool on the subject of price controls over bank charges.

The main point was that apart from those services on which control was not being lifted, yet, control was being lifted. On the latter, banks could compete freely—if they met the requirements of the Bank of Israel bureaucrats. On the former they could act as a cartel and raise their prices together—if they met the requirements of the Treasury and Industry Ministry bureaucrats.

If they didn't compete freely on the latter within three months, the central bank bureaucrats would rat on them to the Treasury and Industry Ministry bureaucrats. If they dared to compete on the former, all the bureaucrats together would jump on them.

For which services are controls being lifted, and for which not? The criteria are obvious—if you have the correct mindset. "Commissions connected with banking services which have no reasonable alternative, whether because of the nature of the service, or whether because of a legal obligation to execute certain transactions only via banking institutions" are the ones to remain under control.

This has got to be one of the great Catch-22s. Since the banks have a legal obligation to provide the service, it is under price control. Because it is under price control it is too cheap. Because it is too cheap, no one else provides it. Because no one else provides it, the banks have to. Because they have a monopoly, the price is under control. Yossarian would have understood.

Providing a monopoly service at an unreal price, makes people overuse it and thereby causes further losses to the banks. These losses allow the regulators to tighten their grip on the banks, and they then tell them how many branches to close and how many people to fire, so as to meet the central bank's "efficiency" targets.

Meanwhile, back in the queue at the branch, the line is longer because there are more people using more services kept artificially cheap. These are provided by fewer but more harassed tellers—fewer because the banks are forced to cut staff, and more harassed because more people use their services.

In other words, the net result of the whole structure is to create more demand for services and less supply. The mechanism that would sort out these problems—called pricing—has been emasculated by price controls. The mechanism that would prevent overcharging—called competition—has never been tried.

What has now happened is that the banks have escaped from the control of the price controllers at the ministries to the control of regulators at the central bank, who will decide who may compete, and on what. After three months it will give out marks to all concerned. Hilariously, the central bank hails this as a step toward decontrol and deregulation.

The most extraordinary part of the whole nonsense is the fact of which services are not yet to be freed—because they have no "reasonable alternative," remember....

• Depositing a cheque into an account at the teller's counter. The banks are indeed obligated to provide this service, but they could do it through self-service systems and save customers' time and their own money on staff. Keeping it cheap via the teller keeps things expensive and inefficient.

• Issuing and renewing cards for cash withdrawals or for getting information from machines. Credit card charges, however, will not. Why? Neither have a "reasonable alternative." And what happens to cards that are both things together? • Purchase or sale of foreign currency in cash; against checks. Why? No "reasonable alternative?" Of course, in the Bank of Israel they've never heard of the black market.

That's that mechanism that funnels dollars from Palestinians working in the Gulf, via their families on the East and West Banks, into the Israeli economy, and ultimately into the swelling foreign exchange reserves, which are held and managed by...the Bank of Israel.

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Colombia coal deal to be signed in week

By KEN SCHACHTER

TEL AVIV—Israel has contracted to buy 2.1 million tons of coal from Colombia through the end of the decade, in Jerusalem's first major coal purchase from Latin America.

The contract, to be signed next week in Colombia, is estimated to be worth between \$63 million and \$116 million, depending on swings in the price of coal.

The deal apparently represents an effort by Jerusalem to distance itself from the political tumult in South Africa, one of Israel's major coal suppliers, along with the U.S. and Australia. Israel is also exploring coal deals with Poland and China.

Colombia's ambassador to Israel, Lazar Gilinsky, said the figure of 2.1 million tons was considered "the minimum quantity" to be delivered during the period of the contract and prices will be guided by a basket of prices from several exporting countries. South Africa has been undercutting other coal producers in recent months to offset the economic boycott imposed by many countries to protest Pretoria's apartheid policies. Industry observers charge that many countries continue to buy inexpensive South African coal while paying lip service to sanctions.

In 1986, Israel exported about \$17 million in non-military goods to Colombia, while importing products worth \$7 million, roughly \$10 million in coffee. Israel's exports include agricultural equipment, fertilizers and flower stock.

Colombia expects to ship the first 400,000 tons of coal in July, with the rest being delivered on a yearly basis through 1990.

At a seminar on the Colombian economy sponsored by the Israel-Latin America Chamber of Commerce yesterday, Yehuda Atzmori,

of the Ministry of Industry and Trade, said the coal agreement was part of an effort by Israel to diversify suppliers. He noted the effort to find alternative energy sources was proceeding even though some other suppliers might offer lower prices.

For his part, Gilinsky voiced the hope that the coal contract would wipe out Colombia's balance-of-payments deficit with Israel.

With 18.2 billion tons, Colombia has Latin America's largest proven coal reserves. It also has 1.3 billion barrels of proven petroleum reserves and a climate that allowed it to export coffee worth \$1.8 billion in 1985. Despite slumps in coffee and oil prices last year, Colombia managed to sustain an estimated gross national product growth rate of 4.5 percent.

Colombia exported \$283 million worth of coal in 1986 and exports are expected to rise to \$454 million this year and \$1.162 billion in 1990.

Bank charges decontrolled

By PINHAS LANDAU

Post Finance Reporter
Finance Minister Moshe Nisim and Industry Minister Ariel Sharon yesterday signed an order freeing the commercial banks from price controls on certain customer charges. Although some charges are likely to rise soon, the banks will still not have a free hand in setting fees.

The Bank of Israel will still exercise control over those charges freed under yesterday's order from Industry Ministry supervision. Furthermore, controls will remain on those services provided exclusively by the banks and on those the banks are directed by law to provide.

The order has been in the pipeline for several weeks, and represents the partially successful culmination of a long campaign by the banks to get their charges updated. Since July 1985 they had been allowed only one 6 percent rise, and this, they claim, is eating into their already meagre profits.

The Bank of Israel, although it formally notified the banks of the order yesterday, had sent a circular to them a month ago telling the

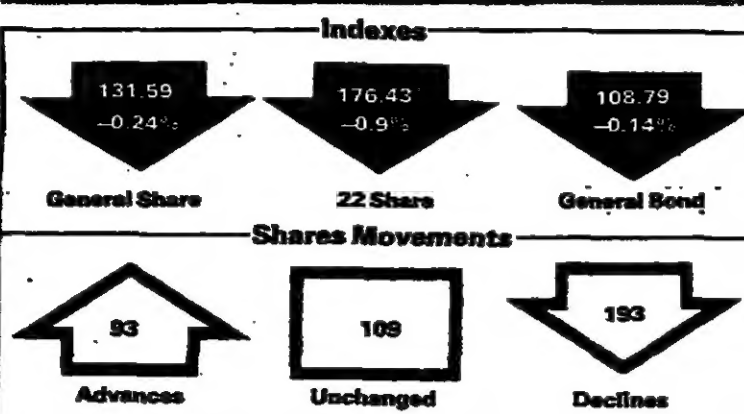
commercial banks that they would be allowed to apply for rises in the cost of price-controlled services. But, the central bank said, the applications had to be accompanied by detailed cost calculations showing why these were necessary.

Since receiving that tip-off the banks' back-office departments have been at work preparing requests, which will soon be presented to the relevant government committees. Most banks have not yet decided whether to raise the prices of those services already freed of controls under yesterday's order, or to wait until they get permission to raise the prices of those still under control. Then they could adjust all their charges simultaneously.

Services being decontrolled and opened to inter-bank competition include commissions on credit allocations, safe deposit boxes and foreign currency commissions, which have been held at a frozen exchange rate well below the current one.

The Examiner of Banks Department has promised to examine the state of decontrolled commission charges after three months.

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange



Selected Prices

Name	Price	Lower	% change
Commercial Banks			
Bank Leumi	2700	3	-0.1
Bank Hapoalim	2600	60	-
Bank Leumi	2600	3000	-0.5
Commercial Banks			
Bank Leumi	2700	3	-0.1
Bank Hapoalim	2600	60	-
Bank Leumi	2600	3000	-0.5
Industrial			
Bank Leumi	2700	3	-0.1
Bank Hapoalim	2600	60	-
Bank Leumi	2600	3000	-0.5
Real Estate, Building and Agriculture			
Bank Leumi	2700	3	-0.1
Bank Hapoalim	2600	60	-
Bank Leumi	2600	3000	-0.5

SHIN BET

(Continued from Page One)

Harish told Shamir yesterday that the court judgment left him with little choice but to order the police to investigate.

Both Shamir and Vice Premier Peres were persuaded in the past few days to support a judicial probe.

Cabinet ministers and other senior officials, impressed by the Shin Bet's fierce opposition to a police probe, last night expressed concern that Harish's decision would cause a "rupture" between the police and the Shin Bet and have grave consequences on the security service's ability to function in the near future.

A stormy meeting on Tuesday of past and present Shin Bet investigators decided to inform Shamir and the head of the Shin Bet that they would not cooperate with the police. They said that Nafu's investigators acted within the accepted guidelines of the service's policy and should not be singled out for punishment.

"This man [Harish] has a knack for making the wrong decision at the wrong time," said an inside official last night.

The police have also expressed reservations about investigating Shin Bet operatives, fearing the creation of tensions between the two bodies.

According to an Israel TV report last night, the Nafu decision is already having repercussions. Three Gazans on trial for murdering three Israelis are now claiming that their confessions were extracted by illegal means.

The lawyers for the alleged terrorists have asked that their confessions be withdrawn unless the Shin Bet investigators swear in court that the admissions were extracted legally.

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Date	Recommendation	Range	Potential profit per contract
30/4	Buy silver	From \$7.80 to \$11.30 per T.Oz.	\$17,500
8/5	Buy coffee	From \$1.16 to \$1.27 per lb.	\$4,125
18/5	Buy gold	From \$460 to \$480 per T.Oz.	\$2,000
25/5	Sell lumber	From \$183 to \$179 per M.Bd.Ft.	\$442

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Israel Money Markets

Shekel Deposits (annual rates)

Bank	Deposit Size	Term	7 days	14 days	30 days
Bank Leumi	500-999	8.00	8.00	10.00	12.00
Bank Hapoalim	1,000-9,999	15.75	15.00	13.50	15.00
Bank Leumi	10,000-49,999	17.50	16.50	15.00	16.50
Bank Hapoalim	50,000+	17.50	16.50	15.00	16.50
Bank Leumi	1,000-9,999	15.75	15.00	13.50	15.00
Bank Hapoalim	10,000-49,999	17.50	16.50	15.00	16.50
Bank Leumi	50,000+	17.50	16.50	15.00	16.50
Bank Hapoalim	1,000-9,999	15.75	15.00	13.50	15.00
Bank Leumi	10,000-49,999	17.50	16.50	15.00	16.50
Bank Hapoalim	50,000+	17.50	16.50	15.00	16.50

Patah (foreign currency deposit rates, May 28)

Currency (per \$100,000)	3 months	6 months	12 months
U.S. dollar (\$100,000)	6.525	6.825	7.375
U.S. dollar (\$100,000)	7.250	7.375	7.750
U.S. dollar (\$100,000)	7.250	7.375	7.750
U.S. dollar (\$100,000)	7.250	7.375	7.750

SOURCE: BANK LEUMI. Rates vary according to size of deposit.

Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates (May 28)

Currency basket	Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell
U.S. dollar	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850
U.S. dollar	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850
U.S. dollar	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850
U.S. dollar	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850

Foreign Markets

EUROPEAN FINANCIAL MARKETS (May 28)

Precious Metals	Libor Rates
Gold	1 month 3 month 6 month
London	453.35 453.10 452.85
Paris	453.10 452.85 452.60
Zurich	452.85 452.60 452.35
Frankfurt	452.60 452.35 452.10
Basel	452.35 452.10 451.85

Foreign Currency Crossrates (London 15:30 - GMT)

Forward rates	Spot	3 months	6 months	12 months
U.S. dollar	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850
U.S. dollar	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850
U.S. dollar	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850
U.S. dollar	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850	1.8850

Share indices: Commerzbank 60 stocks 2155.0 +0.3 Financial Times 100 stocks 1758.1 +2.4

NEW YORK FINANCIAL MARKETS (May 28)

U.S. Money Rates	Fed funds (fml)	Long-term bond	Discount rate
Prime rate	8.25%	100 1/2%	5.5%
Broker loan	8.00%	100 1/2%	5.5%
NY Euro 3 months	7 1/4 - 1 1/4		

New York Foreign Exchange

Prev. closing	Open	High	Low	Settle
1.8130	1.8130	1.8130	1.8130	1.8130
1.8130	1.8130	1.8130	1.8130	1.8130

Wall Street (Prices as of 16:00 GMT)

Market indices	NYSE Highest Volume
DJ Industrials	2,310.38 +14.57
DJ Transp.	1,875.20 +12.48
DJ Utility	1,875.20 +12.48
DJ 30	1,875.20 +12.48
DJ 100	1,875.20 +12.48
DJ 200	1,875.20 +12.48
DJ 500	1,875.20 +12.48
DJ 1000	1,875.20 +12.48
DJ 1500	1,875.20 +12.48
DJ 2000	1,875.20 +12.48

Statistics: NYSE Volume 180,005,800 NASDAQ Volume 121,482,500 (May 27)

NYSE Stocks up 580 Stocks down 1107

Comment: Wall Street staged a late session rally yesterday as investors found Federal Reserve Governor Robert Heller's remarks on the dollar and inflation reassuring. Indicators that the Japanese will take action to remedy trade tensions with the U.S. provided additional support. Lockheed, a subject of takeover rumors, gained 1% to \$4.

Israeli Stocks Traded in New York

NYSE Amex	Last	Prev. close	High	Low	Vol. (100s)
Alliance	27 1/2	27 1/2	27 1/2	27 1/2	22
Am Tel	27 1/2	27 1/2	27 1/2	27 1/2	105
Amrad	1 1/4	1 1/4	1 1/4	1 1/4	10
Amrad	1 1/4	1 1/4	1 1/4	1 1/4	10
Amrad	1 1/4	1 1/4	1 1/4	1 1/4	10
Amrad	1 1/4	1 1/4	1 1/4	1 1/4	10
Amrad	1 1/4	1 1/4	1 1/4	1 1/4	10
Amrad	1 1/4	1 1/4	1 1/4	1 1/4	10
Amrad	1 1/4	1 1/4	1 1/4	1 1/4	10

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No immune deficiency here

THE IMPULSE is well-nigh irresistible to advise the four melancholy heroes of the Pollard affair to resign, especially now that two supposedly investigative committees have stopped so far short of even faintly suggesting anything of the sort. But the impulse should be resisted.

Not because there is no warrant for such a demand. True, the Pollard affair is by no means the worst of the "affairs" that have rocked the country in the past few years. It is, however, the straw that might rightly have been expected to break the camel's back, as it were. It hasn't because this is Israel, a land where camels are made of iron, and where "everyone" may be held at fault but almost no one ever is, especially not if he is a politician. Unless, of course, he has committed an indictable offense.

Well, now, what about the British, inquires Shimon Peres, nervously. Was anyone high up called to account in London over the escape of Soviet spies Burgess and MacLean?

The answer is no, but the analogy with the hiring of Jonathan Pollard as Israel's spy in Washington is worse than spurious. Not to speak of the fact that the political echelon — meaning in this instance, besides Mr. Peres, Yitzhak Rabin, Yitzhak Shamir and Moshe Arens — deliberately failed to mend fences with the U.S. government by making good a clear-cut commitment to tell them the truth about the affair.

Mr. Peres fails, however, even as a student of recent British history, or else his memory is all too selective. It may not be improper to remind him that Lord Carrington resigned as foreign secretary over the war in the Falklands, that Michael Heseltine gave up his defence post in a dispute over the Westland — and that in general, ministers resign to protect the government's image and authority.

In civilized countries of the West a politician is not required to commit hara-kiri in order to repent a misdeed or an error of judgment by himself, or even by a subordinate. But nor does he as a rule wait for the prime minister to kick him out, or for inflamed public opinion to call for his blood. He knows what the code of honour bids him do. And if he resigns in a policy disagreement to improve his chances of more quickly ascending the greasy pole, that is certainly not held against him.

In Israel, a politician resigns as a rule only if such action is deemed helpful in pressing for concessions to his party from the government. Quitting a cabinet post in protest against a line of policy, as Motta Gur did last year and Amnon Rubinstein has done earlier this month, counts as an aberration. It isn't done. It is almost immoral.

Since the national unity government assumed office in September 1984 it has been discovered that the Shin Bet very nearly succeeded in putting the blame for the murder of two captured Arab terrorists on a senior army officer, and had earlier contrived to put a young army officer behind bars for 18 years by forcing him to make a false confession; that Israel readily lent a hand to a most invidious American arms-transfer deal with Khomeini's Iran, and that the much-touted Lavi fighter project was mired in miscalculation.

The Pollard affair is in good company with these other affairs. Excluding the Nafsu case, treatment of which remains to be decided upon, and the case of the Lavi, which is now before the government, all these other affairs show a similar pattern: the officials responsible for them are absolved of all blame, or amnestied or provided with cushy jobs elsewhere in the public service, while the political leaders involved either justify their roles or plead ignorance and remain safely in their cabinet seats.

There is no reason to expect this pattern to be broken in the Pollard affair.

The two political duos making up the ruling quartet have a locked hold on their respective parties, and jointly on the government. Sheer survival dictates that they do not part company at this time, and the interest is shared by their parties. Only an internal grass-roots revolution could unseat them, and it is by no means obvious that the alternatives, within Herut or Labour, would be preferable. The quartet's position is thus virtually impregnable.

The resignation of Messrs. Shamir, Peres, Rabin and Arens at this time would — supposing the scenario were realistic — plunge the country into an election campaign that would be fought not over the issue of peace, war and an international conference, but over their records in the several affairs.

Since this would be to the advantage of neither of the two major parties, the scenario is simply not realistic.

LABOUR

(Continued from Page One)

"fold" in the face of the "forceful onslaught" against him.

Repeatedly interrupted by calls from the crowd that he had "harmful the party," an agitated Eban said that he "has the right to differ with leaders with power and responsibility." He said that he had not invested all the hard work on his committee's report "in order to be someone else's echo."

Eban maintained that there had

The still unpublished annex to the Rotenstreich-Tsur report on the Pollard spy affair dealing with ministerial responsibility should be made public, Dr. Yehoshua Rotenstreich said last night upon his return to Israel from Switzerland. "In our view the annex contains no classified material," Rotenstreich told him.

He termed Rabin's presentation of the differences between the two inquiry reports as "trickery."

"Political movements are not the supreme expression of tolerance," said Eban. "Not only here but everywhere there is a storm against a party

member who has used his judgment. I am not asking the party to take care of me. It never has in the past.

"This meeting contradicts the assumption that we have no problem with tolerance and freedom."

The next blow to Eban was delivered by Peres, who mocked Eban's claim that he was being pressured to change his mind.

"You are under pressure?" Peres thundered. "You're the one who deserves pity? Or maybe the two of us [Peres and Rabin] are being besmirched month after month? Was your name besmirched or was mine?"

Peres termed Eban's speech "melodrama." "Go with your conscience," Peres said. "I'm not asking you for anything."

Peres ridiculed Eban's statement that his report had placated Israel's critics, saying: "It wasn't your report that saved American-Israeli relations. It was our decision on cooperation."

After Peres's speech, the central committee meeting was abruptly adjourned. Labour leaders had got a load off their chests, but had also exposed internal party strife in public for the first time in a long while.

THE Rotenstreich-Tsur panel on the Pollard affair has so confused the issue with regard to responsibility that things will never be the same again. In Section 31 of its published report to be understood as a denial of the existence of ministerial responsibility.

If so, then Messrs. Rotenstreich and Tsur have taken upon themselves to reject the explicit conclusion of the legal opinion of Haim Zadok, issued when he was justice minister in the post-Yom Kippur War period, as well as the statements of the Agranat Commission which preceded Zadok's detailed examination of the subject, and the later observations of the Kahan Commission on the Beirut camps massacres.

Zadok's opinion, supported by extensive citation from both Israeli and English sources, begins with the flat statement: "In Israel the principle of the individual ministerial responsibility of a minister for the operations of his ministry is recognized and it is part of our constitutional conception with regard to the mutual relations between the executive and the parliament."

"It is necessary to distinguish between the individual ministerial responsibility of the minister and the collective responsibility of the government, although the two concepts are inter-related and exist side by side. Both should be viewed as an expression of the parliamentary system of government, according to which the government is responsible before the Knesset."

Zadok defines the concept of individual parliamentary responsibility, as follows: "The significance of ministerial responsibility: the minister is responsible before the Knesset for all acts of his ministry; and that, even if he did not know about them in advance and wasn't associated with them."

The Zadok opinion concludes with a statement with regard to the application of the principle of ministerial responsibility: "The application of the principle of ministerial responsibility with regard to a minister is a legitimate subject for discussion in the government, since the government bears collective responsibility before the Knesset, and from

the force of this responsibility it has the option to stand behind the minister or to propose to him that he resign: or to change, with the approval of the Knesset, his role in the government. This is not to diminish the right of action, in this area, of the prime minister, of political parties and, of course — of the Knesset, which can express lack of confidence in the government for not drawing conclusions in the area of individual ministerial responsibility."

ACCORDING to the novel Rotenstreich-Tsur doctrine, at least in the form adopted by the leaders of the Likud and of Labour, the government has no options — it must stand behind the ministers and accept collective responsibility for their faults or defaults. Furthermore, it is pure *chutzpa* on the part of the Knesset even to get into the act.

If so, then we don't have a national unity government — we have a cartel, in which the competitors can get together, when it suits their self-preservation, and rig the market to squeeze out troublesome meddlers. The chief meddler, in the present instance, is, of course, Abba Eban.

Whatever the fate of the report which the sub-committee he heads has published, he has earned the gratitude of the public for the attempt, the boldest in Israel's history, to give real substance to the principle of individual ministerial responsibility and to the role of the Knesset in the performance of its proper supervisory function.

If we had a government, instead of a cartel, it would regard it as its obvious duty to examine the report carefully. Under present political conditions, it might well reach the conclusion that it would be inexpedient to advise Yitzhak Rabin, the only minister still in the ministerial role he held during the Pollard affair, to resign, or to accept another ministerial role. A Knesset majority

Allan E. Shapiro

would undoubtedly support such a decision. However, the principle of responsible parliamentary government, of which individual ministerial responsibility is an essential element, would have been vindicated.

The case of Rabin is particularly crucial, as party lines within the Eban committee blurred, although they did not entirely disappear, in the light of what appears to be clear evidence of Rabin's failure to take appropriate action while the Pollard spy operation was in progress. It was during Rabin's term as defence minister that "particularly sensitive intelligence material" was arriving at an accelerated pace. Despite this, Rabin made no effort to maintain proper supervisory procedures, from which he could have known about the Pollard operation. Four members of the committee — Abba Eban and the three Likud members — concluded that Rabin's ministerial responsibility was unquestionable.

The Labour MK Micha Harish, agreed that, as defence minister for 14 months while the Pollard operation was in progress, Rabin had prolonged opportunity to assess phenomena that should necessarily have caused him concern. However, in his separate opinion, Harish omits the majority's reference to the stepped-up appearance of particularly sensitive material and points to Rabin's alleged concern, greater than that of his predecessor, Moshe Arens, for supervision of the Scientific Liaison Bureau, which operated Pollard. But in conclusion, Harish also expressed reservations with regard to the majority judgement on Rabin.

The sixth member of the committee, Labour MK Simha Dinitz, also expressed reservations with regard to the majority judgement on Rabin.

Dinitz would take out the reference to Rabin's prolonged opportunity to find out what was going on "because intelligence material was brought to the desk of all defence ministers before and after this period, and there was no indication with regard to the source of the material." Dinitz also disagreed that Rabin had made, as the majority found, no effort to find out what was going on. Instead, he would have the report state that the committee had received evidence that Rabin had shown awareness and had called Rafi Eitan's attention to the "dangers involved in his activity." It is not clear why Dinitz apparently regards this as diminishing Rabin's responsibility. On the face of it, if Rabin displayed awareness, even to the extent of warning Eitan of the dangers, his failure to take any action would seem grounds for a harsher judgement with regard to Rabin than that contained in the conclusions of the other committee members.

TODAY'S political climate provides the least opportune occasion possible for a Knesset sub-committee to attempt to fulfil its proper constitutional role in supervising the operations of the executive. Regarding the period after Pollard's arrest, the committee split on party lines, with Abba Eban again demonstrating a commendable non-partisan view in joining the Likud members with respect to the responsibility of the then prime minister, Shimon Peres, by virtue of his position as "first among equals." This fine calibration of responsibility would seem to be excessive and remote from the issues.

Despite the efforts to disparage the work of the Eban committee, it is already clear that its report will be credited abroad. Within Israel, it should put new life into the fundamental concept of ministerial responsibility. In the General Security Services affair, involving the bus-hijacking, a committee appointed by

the attorney-general, the Karpel committee, examined the question of whether Shamir or Peres had personal responsibility, either for the killing of the terrorists or the subsequent cover-up, with the perjury and fabrication of evidence that was involved. The issue before the Karpel committee was that of personal, criminal responsibility. Despite its limited scope, the conclusion of that inquiry was widely misinterpreted to mean that lack of knowledge on the part of the responsible minister meant not only an absence of criminal responsibility, but a lack of responsibility of any kind at the political level.

However, in the same week that the Pollard reports were published, a major result of the bus-hijacking affair came to light. One of the most significant aspects of the judgement in the case of Izat Nafsu, the statement by the chief prosecutor, Amnon Nevo, that it was the Shin Bet, together with his own office, which conducted an examination of Nafsu's claim that his confession had been extorted by illegal methods of interrogation and had come to the conclusion that most of his claims were true.

While the Nafsu case is widely regarded as another black mark for the Shin Bet, there certainly appears to be a profound and fundamental alteration in its attitude to internal and external supervision. Today it is the Shin Bet itself that is demanding a judicial investigation into the broader questions raised in the Nafsu appeal with regard to its interrogation methods.

The attempted implementation of the principle of individual ministerial responsibility by the Eban sub-committee will have little effect with regard to the Pollard affair itself. In time, however, it may appear in retrospect as a major turning point in Israel's constitutional development.

The writer is a political scientist.

PERES

(Continued from Page One)

Peres's aides and the Labour MKs on the intelligence subcommittee have argued that Peres, while now knowing the truth about Pollard's recruitment, hadn't known the truth on November 28, 1985. Peres himself, speaking on Israel TV's *Moked* programme on Wednesday evening, said that on that date he had only known the "Pollard volunteered" version of the recruitment. Hence, his misinforming the subcommittee on that day was due to his own misinformation, not to mendacity.

The thrust of Ben-Elissar's accusation at Wednesday's press conference was that Peres, a full week after Pollard's arrest, and after countless briefings by Eitan, Meron, Kimche and others, could not have been ignorant of the true story.

This raises the question of why Peres should have lied, as Ben-Elissar claims, if, indeed, he did. The problem seems doubly puzzling since Pollard was recruited in 1984, when a Likud government was in power and Moshe Arens was defence minister. The recruitment and initial operation of Pollard, was therefore completely the responsibility of Likud ministers; Peres and his party colleagues could in no way have been blamed or held to account for this crucial stage of the Pollard affair.

All observers discount as "ridiculous" the notion that Peres had lied in order to protect Arens and/or then prime minister Yitzhak Shamir.

SCHOOLS

(Continued from Page One)

A Treasury spokesman said last night that there had been "some progress" in day-long talks with Education Ministry officials, but added that, as of last night, the plan to cut NIS 44m. still stood.

Weiber said he believes the teachers have the support of parents. But National Parents' Association secretary-general Reuben Guy told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that

the parents support the teachers morally — "since they're fighting not for higher pay but to save the education system" — but do not approve of strikes.

Guy suggested that the teachers and parents organize joint demonstrations to protest against the cuts.

Asked why the parents do not demonstrate on their own, Guy said: "If I called on thousands of parents to come to a demonstration."

READERS' LETTERS

CONSUL-GENERAL IN ATLANTA

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post*: Sir, — I was favourably impressed by the civility of Rabbi Emanuel Feldman's letter (May 8), but somewhat offended by its contents.

Writing from Jerusalem (Atlanta), Rabbi Feldman criticizes the appointment of an Israeli Arab as Israel's Consul-General to the Southern United States, even going so far as to suggest that he was chosen out of "public relations considerations." He bases his argument on the assertion (which he supports with highly emotion-charged examples) that an Arab cannot represent the religious aspects of the State of Israel.

Without questioning the contribution of such pioneers as those of the early religious settlements, the prime movers behind the establishment of the Jewish State were secular Zionists. Their goal was not to promote a particular interpretation of Judaism, but to create a safe

haven for all Jews.

Therefore, it is clear that a representative of our state need only represent it as a political entity and not be a delegate for its religious institutions. Israel has no official religion in spite of the high degree of religious coercion that exists here.

As for Israel's "cultural, spiritual and national" aspirations, these are extremely diverse within the population and not a subject for external representation.

Finally, with regard to the "desire to retain, say, Judea and Samaria" which an Arab might find hard to represent, Rabbi Feldman need have no fear. Israel has no final policy on the subject. Israel's official position on the West Bank (to use Jabotinsky's term) is that it was acquired by Israel in self-defence and that its final status is yet to be determined.

DAVID P. A. KESSLER
Jerusalem.

ART FOR FUN

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post*: Sir, — In reference to Meir Ronnen's article of May 15, "Art or eyesores — Jerusalem's unsolicited sculptures," I take exception to the word eyesore.

I live one street away from the yellow goats on Emek Refaim. I must say that I find them cheery.

friendly and engaging. I pass them more than twice a day and each time I chuckle. It's a wonderful sight to see two goats crossing the street and they live up and only enhance the homogeneous Jerusalem stone buildings.

Sometimes art can be just for fun.
LARRY FREDMAN
Jerusalem.

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post*: Sir, — Let us imagine that sooner or later, an international conference on peace in the Middle East will be convened and that indeed it will lead to direct and bilateral negotiations between Israel and Jordan. So what?

Up to now, I never succeeded in grasping the real and concrete meaning of the so-called Jordanian option. Morally, the Jordanian presence and occupation of the West Bank and East Jerusalem in 1948 were at least as illegal and not less brutal than Israel's. Jordan's rule derived from sheer military conquest and not from any authorized (regional or international) negotiations and agreements. For that reason, it was recognized only by Britain and Pakistan.

The fact that in June 1967, the West Bank and East Jerusalem served as starting points for attack on Israel, in alliance with Egypt and Syria, does not particularly strengthen Hussein's repeated claims to return to Jordan what by right never belonged to it before.

Politically, the mere fact that King Hussein is nowadays the veteran and most courageous leader in the Mid-

dle East does not by itself make him the most suitable partner to attain peace in this troubled and complicated region. The solution of the drawn-out Arab-Israeli conflict lies in the Palestinian option, that is, granting the local Palestinian population national self-determination, of course not instead of Israel, but beside it.

YEHUDA BEN-MOSHE
Jerusalem.

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YEHUDA BEN-MOSHE
Jerusalem.

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